

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

*A Platform for the Free Discussion of
Issues in the Field of Religion and
Their Bearing on Education*

July - August 1957



RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

A Symposium

SIGNIFICANT EVIDENCE

BOOK REVIEWS

Religious Education

Official Publication of the Religious Education Association

Seeks to present, on an adequate, scientific plane, those factors which make for improvement in religious and moral education. The Journal does not defend particular points of view, contributors alone being responsible for opinions expressed in their articles. It gives its authors entire freedom of expression, without any official endorsement. Articles in Religious Education are indexed in the EDUCATION INDEX which is on file in educational institutions and public libraries.

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IMAGES OF MAN in CURRENT CULTURE

**The Tasks of Education and Religion
in View of Contemporary
Secular and Sacred Images of Man**

**NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION**

November 24, 25, 26, 1957

Palmer House

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**ALL PLENARY SESSIONS AND GROUP SEMINARS OF THE CONVENTION
WILL BE HELD AT THE PALMER HOUSE.**

THE CONVENTION THEME

Our pluralistic culture provides a great diversity of images of man. Our political system, our economic and social life, our literature, arts and sciences, our religious traditions, all assume and portray varying images of man. The popular culture media — press, radio, television, movies and advertising — make these images vivid for masses of readers, listeners and viewers. Every home, peer group and community, every educational and religious institution, assumes and fosters images of man.

Some one or more of these images may be highly influential in forming the self image of each child and adult exposed to them. Among the diversity of images, some are more prevalent and dominant than others in many aspects of the culture, and so are more influential in forming the self images of masses of people. The National Convention of the Religious Education Association in 1957 will examine and appraise some of these prevailing images of man and consider the task of education and religion with respect to them.

Merely by way of illustration, some secular and sacred images of man are briefly sketched below. These descriptions are in no sense complete, and space prevents even mention of other important and prevalent images, both secular and sacred. It will be a task of the Convention to present a wider range and give a full picture of the dominant images of man in our culture.

The word "sacred" in this program is used to refer to images emanating from our religious traditions, and the word "secular" for those images which deny, ignore, or are incompatible with religious views of man.

Basic Issues of Plenary Sessions

Secular and Sacred Images of Man and Issues for Education and Religion

SOME SECULAR IMAGES OF MAN

Man is primarily a creature of the economic order, concerned with producing and consuming goods. He is also technical man who knows how to exploit nature, and organizational man who conforms to the success requirements of the business world. Paralleling economic man, is hedonistic man, frequently portrayed in advertising. This man is preoccupied in seeking pleasure, the maximum satisfaction of desires for sex, food, drink, creature comforts, worldly goods, physical well-being, social success, and economic security. Supporting the economic and hedonistic views of man is a philosophy of man as a child of nature, a higher animal, whose values and behavior can be understood, predicted and controlled by the social sciences, without benefit of religion.

ANOTHER SECULAR IMAGE OF MAN

Man is a product of nature and society. He is not definable wholly or chiefly by his biological needs, but also by ideals and values, through which his impulses are transformed. The distinctive characteristics of man are his freedom, his use of symbols, and his intelligence, which underlie his power to envisage and actualize ideal possibilities. The goals of life are personal integration, a democratic society, and maximum fulfillment of moral and spiritual capacities — such as the ability to love, to create and appreciate beauty, seek the truth, and to make intelligent ethical choices. These values are grounded in a faith in progress and in the ultimacy of the process of creative emergence, in which existing structures undergo continuous reconstruction in the light of developing needs.

A SACRED IMAGE OF MAN

Man is a person created by God in the Divine image. This person is a part of nature, but has a destiny beyond nature. He is immortal. He avows a God-given moral order, is aware of and cherishes divinely given rights, capacities and responsibilities. This man enjoys creature comforts and pleasures, but his primary concerns are to live justly and lovingly with his fellow men, to develop and enjoy the capacities of his mind for truth and beauty, to achieve spiritual integrity and security, to live righteously according to God's laws, and above all, to worship God and grow in living with Him.

SOME ISSUES POSED BY THESE IMAGES

For Education

The present issue is as to which of these or other views of man our educational enterprise should embrace and cultivate. Shall it be the policy and practice of education, and of the arts and sciences which education fosters, to nurture the secular or the sacred images of man, or shall education try to be neutral (can it be?) with respect to these diverse images?

For Religion

When education embraces the secular images of man, or tries to be neutral as between the secular and sacred images, what is the responsibility of religion with respect to education, and what should be its strategy in preserving and enhancing the sacred images of man?

PROGRAM

Plenary Sessions

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24:

8:00 p.m.—Opening Assembly

General Theme: *SECULAR IMAGES OF MAN*

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25:

9:00 a.m.—Second Assembly

General Theme: *SACRED IMAGES OF MAN*

8:00 p.m.—Third Assembly

General Theme: *THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EDUCATION FOR
FOSTERING SACRED IMAGES OF MAN*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26:

7:30 p.m.—Fourth Assembly

General Theme: *RELIGIOUS STRATEGY FOR NURTURING
SACRED IMAGES OF MAN*

SEMINAR OR ROUND TABLE GROUPS

Each seminar will have four sessions: Monday, November 25, 11:15-12:15, 2:00-5:00; Tuesday, November 26, 9:00-12:00, and 2:00-5:00. Delegates will register for only one seminar and remain with it throughout the conference. Each seminar will have a chairman, secretary, and three or more resource leaders. The main work of the conference in thinking through various issues of concern to each professional group or level of education will be done in the seminars. There can be as many of these seminars meeting simultaneously as there are registrants to warrant offering them. Among seminars proposed are the following:

1. THE HOME

Its role, resources and potential for forming religiously oriented and motivated persons in a milieu of secular images of man.

2. THE SCHOOL

Its function in passing on the American heritage of religious images of man as found in literature, history, art and music, and in fostering human relations based on the Judeo-Christian ethical ideal.

3. CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUES

Their strategy and resources, their requisite educational structure and methods, their heritage and potential for forming religious persons in a milieu of secular images of man.

4. THE LARGER COMMUNITY (Urban, Suburban, Exurban, Rural)

What changes should be made in the climate of ideas it provides and in the quality of human relations and human values it fosters, in order to favor the formation of religious images of man?

5. AMERICA AND THE WORLD

What images of man is America exporting to other nations and cultures? What is the influence of these images on other peoples and on their regard for America? What is the responsibility of religion and education for the images of man America is presenting to other nations? How effective are our religious forces in conveying our sacred images of man to other cultures? How to be more effective in doing this? What images of man is America importing today? What images are our people forming of the human qualities of other peoples? Are we perceiving noble or debased images of other people? What is the responsibility of religion, education, and religious education for the images of man, and of other peoples, which America is importing? By what channels are images of man being exported and imported? What can we do to influence these channels in purveying the highest images of man?

6. THE WORLD OF WORK FOR LABOR

The images of man it fosters and its resources and potential for favoring Judeo-Christian human relations and values.

7. THE WORLD OF WORK FOR OFFICE PERSONNEL

The images of man it fosters and its resources and potential for favoring Judeo-Christian human relations and values.

8. THE WORLD OF WORK FOR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

The images of man it fosters and its resources and potential for favoring Judeo-Christian human relations and values.

9. LIFE IN THE ARMED FORCES

The images of man they foster. Are there any special hazards to the Judeo-Christian image of man inherent in their goals and functions? What are the resources and potentials for favoring Judeo-Christian human relations and values for persons in the Services? Do the churches and synagogues have special responsibilities for helping Service men and women preserve and attain the Judeo-Christian image of man?

10. HIGHER EDUCATION — THE HUMANITIES

The images of man assumed or communicated by philosophy, history, literature, art, music, and other humanities. The effects of these images on the dominant values in our current culture. Present and potential contributions of the humanities for forming in persons the Judeo-Christian images of man and ethical living.

11. HIGHER EDUCATION — SOCIAL SCIENCES

Basic assumptions of psychology, sociology, anthropology and other social sciences about the nature of man. Effect of these assumptions on the images of man in our current culture. Present and potential contributions of the social sciences to improving the quality of community life and assisting education and religion in their task of forming moral and religious persons.

12. HIGHER EDUCATION — NATURAL SCIENCES

Basic assumptions of the life sciences (biology, physiology, etc.) about the nature of man. The effect of scientific assumptions about the nature of truth, reality and the universe on the ways of thinking about man and his destiny in our current culture. The effect of the technologies derived from the natural sciences on man's mode of living and on his health, welfare and security in our times. Present and potential contributions of the natural sciences to improving the quality of human living and providing a climate favorable to the Judeo-Christian man and mode of living in our society.

13. HIGHER EDUCATION AS A WHOLE

Its over-all effect on the images of man in our current culture and its responsibilities and poten-

tial for communicating the Judeo-Christian heritage and forming the Judeo-Christian man and a society favorable thereto.

14. SCIENCE AND RELIGION

Can science and religion fruitfully cooperate in seeking a unified image of man? What are the positive and negative effects of the scientific study of man for forming the religious person? Are the basic assumptions of science about the nature of the universe and the nature of man incompatible with the Judeo-Christian images of man? At what points might science and religion meet or engage in fruitful discourse in seeking a unified image of men? Does scientific thinking about man and values envisage a revision of values and concepts of man enjoined by historic Christian and Jewish faith? Do the latter provide basic insights about man, which science has ignored or not taken seriously? Are the differences between science and religion in thinking about man grounded in diverse basic assumptions, or is it mainly a matter of difference in approach and methodology?

15. THE HEALING SCIENCES AND ARTS

Basic assumptions of medicine, psychiatry, physiotherapy, etc., about the nature of man. The effect of these assumptions on the values and goals of living of persons suffering anxieties, failure, frustration, physical handicaps, long illnesses, or facing death. What changes in these assumptions and in the practice of the healing arts and sciences would be more favorable to the Judeo-Christian view of man, his values and destiny?

16. THE MASS MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

What images of man are dominant in the popular offerings of television, radio, motion pictures, advertising, the press, and other popular culture media? What is the effect of these images on the functioning concepts of man among consumers of the mass media? To what extent are their images of themselves, of the desirable man, identified with the mass media's images? What changes should be made in the mass media images in order to make them more consonant with and favorable to the Judeo-Christian images of man? What are potentials of the mass media for education in the Judeo-Christian view of man and quality of human relations?

17. THEORIES AND METHODS OF EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Are contemporary educational theories and methodologies consonant with religious assumptions about man's nature? Where there are incompatibilities in basic assumptions about man, can religious education still make good use of methods derived from secular education to nurture the religious life, to assist in religious formation and Judeo-Christian ethical living? Does the distinctive nature of the religious life and its ethical norms require distinctive methodologies for religious education? What would be the nature of the latter? If religious education requires distinctive methodologies, what use can and should it make of the findings of psychology and other sciences about the growth process in children and ways of shaping their value systems?

18. GROUP DYNAMICS

Does the science and use thereof provide better means of enhancing the quality of human relations? Is it a science or art? What are its assumptions about human nature? What are its potentials for improving religious formation and Judeo-Christian ethical behavior?

19. FORMING SACRED IMAGES OF MAN IN CHILDREN AND YOUTH

What presentation of the sacred images of man are appropriate for various age levels (nursery, kindergarten, elementary, teen ages, etc.)? Should a unitary presentation be made at all age levels, or should various components of the image be introduced at different ages as the child matures? What are these components? What is the complete image? How can the image and/or its components be best communicated and made functional at various age levels?

20. SEX AND LOVE

What are the prevailing images of sex and love, of their separate meanings and integral relationship, in our culture — in fiction, art, advertising, and the mass media, in the social sciences, in books for instructing the young about sex and preparing them for marriage? How do these images differ or agree with the sacred image of man in expressing sex and love? How can the sacred images be enhanced? What changes in the climate of ideas about sex and love, and what changes in the mores and social relations are needed to give support to the sacred images? How are these changes to be brought about? What is the responsibility of education and religion in this field?

21. PRACTITIONERS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

How does understanding of differing images of man affect or assist the practice of religious education? Can religious educators function effectively in our culture with just a clear picture of the religious man, which is the goal of their efforts, or should they also fully understand the secular images of man, to which their children are exposed? Do teachers, supervisors, and directors of religious education have a clear understanding of the diverse images of man in our society, and of the effects of these mixed images on the child and on his religious and moral formation? What are these effects? How should religious educators deal with the secular images of man in the mind of the child and in his cultural environment? What attention should the religious educator give to the images of man conveyed by the mass media, American economic and social life, secular education, etc?

22. RESEARCH

What cultural factors and forces, which problems and processes need research (and are researchable) in order to determine the effect of our culture on the functioning images of man among our people, and to discover more effective ways of forming the Judeo-Christian man, and making social relations or community life more favorable thereto? How can such research be brought into being?

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To Be Held in Chicago, November 24-26, 1957

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A SYMPOSIUM

Religion and Public Education

Since the American Council on Education issued its first report on The Relation of Religion to Public Education in 1947 there have been various reports, much research and numerous projects in this field.

On March 10-12, 1957 a Conference was held under the auspices of the American Council on Education. The seven articles of this symposium were presented at this Conference.

These articles and the findings of the Conference are to be published in book form this fall by the American Council on Education.

We are grateful both to the American Council on Education for special permission to print these articles and to the authors for their cooperation in writing the articles.

—Editorial Committee

I

SUMMARY OF POLICIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION COMMITTEE ON RELIGION AND EDUCATION

F. Ernest Johnson

Chairman of the Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education, Chief Study Consultant for the Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of the Churches, New York City

THE PURPOSE of this article is four-fold:

I. To state and interpret the position that has been presented and defended by the American Council's Committee on Religion and Education with respect to the place of religion in public education.

II. To summarize briefly the Committee's findings with reference to existing practices and prevailing attitudes with respect to this problem.

III. To call attention to developments since our Committee's first report was issued which have given us encouragement and moral support.

IV. To consider the implications of the present situation for future strategy.

I wish to make it clear at the outset that opinions expressed in this article, except where offered as representing the Committee's position, are my own, and not necessarily the opinions of the Committee. At the same time I believe that what I shall state is in line with the main currents of

the Committee's thought and with the results of its inquiries.

I

It will be recalled that the American Council pioneered in this field by convening, in cooperation with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, a conference of educators on religion and public education, which was held in Princeton, New Jersey, in May 1944. At that time criticism was being aimed at public education because of the scant attention given to religion in its curriculum. On the other hand, many prominent educators were expressing concern lest the growing demand for "more religion in the schools" might lead to a breaking down of the "wall" between church and state. As a result of the Princeton Conference the Council created the Committee of Religion and Education.

The Committee published its first report, *The Relation of Religion to Public Education*, in April 1947. It took a firm

position against religious instruction — in the sense of indoctrination — in tax-supported schools, but contended vigorously for including in the public school program, for objective study, religious subject matter where it is intrinsically related to a given school discipline. This would mean that the study of literature should take in our religious classics; the study of history should include the religious aspects of the period studied; the social studies program should provide for visitation and observation of religious institutions as well as those related to business, industry, and social welfare; and so on. We have held that religious literacy is an essential goal of a liberal education.

This approach to religion has been widely characterized as "study *about* religion." The term has been found useful by many educators, though it is sometimes contended that "study about" is not really education at all, since it does not require or produce that personal *involvement* which is essential to a genuine educative experience. I think it appropriate here to point out that the kind of study of religion for which our Committee has contended is definitely characterized by personal involvement since it is in essence not mere curious inspection, but reverent inquiry. The word reverent here denotes an attitude implicit in democracy, since a reverence for individual persons surely implies reverence for what men have immemorably held to be holy.

It should also be stated that controversy has arisen from time to time over the relation of such objective study as we have advocated to the act of personal "commitment" which is characteristic of religious experience at its best. Let us recall what the Committee said on this point:

"... The intensive cultivation of religion is, and always has been, the function of religious institutions. To create an awareness of its importance is a responsibility of public education. In creating such an awareness the school is but rounding out its educational task, which culminates in the building of durable convictions about the meaning of life and personal commitments based upon them. The school cannot dictate these convictions and commitments, but it can, and should,

foster a sense of the obligation to achieve them as a supreme moral imperative and to that end bring its students into contact with the spiritual resources of the community." (p. 54)

This passage has been thought by some to be ambiguous. Perhaps it is, when read out of context. However, I think the report as a whole made it quite clear that we were unwilling to assign to the tax-supported school any role that involved indoctrination in religious beliefs, or pressure toward commitment to their espousal or advocacy. If, as the person who drafted the passage just quoted, I may be permitted to interpret it, it means that the enterprise of general education includes the confrontation of growing persons with spiritual values and influences in accord with their actual magnitude in the culture and the general estimate of their importance in the life of the community. All democratic education is weighted — biased, if you please — in subject matter and emphasis in accord with the value system of the community to which the school belongs.

But — to use again the language of the report — to "stimulate the young toward a vigorous, personal reaction to the challenge of Religion" must detract in no degree from the respect and reverence due to the individual conscience whose honest response to that challenge is negative rather than affirmative. Honest response, not acquiescence or conformity, is the primary goal. Religious liberty is an ultimate value. I must confess to a personal concern lest some of the efforts to correct a long-standing deficit in public education may result in pressures that do violence to personal freedom.

Clarification seems to be needed at two points. A common error is the characterization of the approach we and many others have advocated as "nonsectarian." We sought from the beginning to show that advocacy of *any* creedal proposition is regarded as sectarian from the point of view of some elements of the population. Our approach is not nonsectarian but, so to speak, multi-sectarian. That is to say, we have urged that religion in the various

forms in which it appears today in our culture and in which it has influenced history be respectfully studied in the interest of achieving a culturally adequate education.

Our Committee has maintained that "nonsectarian" religion — that is to say, an aggregate of common elements in the several faiths represented in the community — would be something *less* than would seem authentic and adequate to any one religious group, and something *more* than a substantial part of the average community would be willing to have authoritatively propagated. Presumably such considerations underly the U. S. Supreme Court's persistent ban on "religious instruction" in the schools in spite of the very liberal doctrine laid down in the most recent relevant case.

A second error is to assume that insistence on the study of religious classics, institutions, and movements in secular schools is in some sense a disparagement of the "secular" as such. This is the reverse of what we have stood for. Our primary concern is to oppose the artificial separation of the sacred and the secular — the setting apart of religion from the common life. The cultural evil against which we have protested is the nonrelevance of spiritual ideals and sanctions to everyday life, whether in business, politics, or education.

II

Our second report, which was published in 1953 under the title, *The Function of the Public Schools in Dealing with Religion*, was an attempt to survey existing practices in this area and the opinions of educational and religious leaders with respect to the position which the Committee has advocated. I will summarize briefly the principal findings.

We found a conspicuous lack of anything approximating an "American way" with respect to the relation of religion to public education. There were evidences of more or less deliberate avoidance of religious subject matter even when it was clearly intrinsic to the discipline concerned. On the other hand, we found "planned re-

ligious activities" widely prevalent — activities that, in many cases, could by no stretch of imagination be reconciled with the rigid prohibitions set up by the U. S. Supreme Court in the *Everson* and *McCormack* cases. Finally, we found some attempts to steer a course between these extremes by means of objective study of religion in the culture.

A significant result of the study, in retrospect, was the apparent impossibility of designing any one policy, with or without judicial sanction, that would meet the widely diverse conditions existing in different parts of the country, especially in communities that are relatively homogeneous with respect to religion. It was a painful experience to discover in the schools religious practices well established by custom and supported by strong community sanctions which did patent violence to the religious liberties of minority groups as any discriminating court might define them. Yet nothing was more apparent than the prospect of disrupted community life, with perhaps devastating consequences to the minority groups themselves, that would result from arbitrary interference with deep-seated community customs.

At the same time, the study showed a high degree of receptivity toward the general position which the Committee had formulated on the part of educational leaders and a corresponding readiness for experimentation designed to test its practicality. The Committee has long been convinced that only through carefully planned, adequately financed experimentation involving cooperation between local school systems and teacher education institutions could the feasibility of its proposals with respect to the public school program be established with any assurance.

It should be noted that the chief focus of attention of the American Council's Committee has been secondary education. The main thesis of its reports, to which I have called attention, is manifestly more relevant to the secondary than to the elementary level. This constitutes a limitation which I now regard as unfortunate and to

which I shall return later. It was probably inevitable because of our preoccupation with a controversial issue that centered in doctrine and beliefs. That issue intrudes itself chiefly at the secondary level as far as the public schools are concerned.

As for higher education under public auspices, the Committee's interest has been, in the main, restricted to teacher-education institutions and the teacher-education activities of liberal arts colleges. It soon became evident, however, that the factors limiting attention to religion at the higher level were of a different sort from those encountered in the public schools and that the problems we have been chiefly concerned with were basically public school problems.

III

I turn now to developments during the decade since our Committee published its first report which tend to validate its approach and to give support to its main endeavor. To those of us who undertook ten years ago to arouse public interest in the role of religion in general education and who encountered sharp opposition in some quarters and apathy in others, the change of mood and the growth in interest have been amazing. The mood that prevailed earlier in influential circles was not consciously hostile to religion as such, but it indicated a "two-sphere" conception of religion and the state: not only were *church* and *state* to be separate, but government-sponsored activities, including public education, were to let religion alone. With the handing down by the U. S. Supreme Court of its decisions in the now famous *Everson* and *McColum* cases, in 1947 and 1948, respectively, this position was made "official."

The second article in this series is an authoritative presentation of the legal and judicial aspects of our subject. I am impelled to refer to them, however, to the extent of their impact on the thinking of educational and religious leaders, and their bearing on our Committee's position. Regardless of the merits of the particular matters decided in those two cases, the judicial

doctrine to which they gave rise was so rigid and absolute as to be conspicuously out of line with policies and practices that had long been generally accepted. Indeed, a major result of the Court's ruling in the *McColum* case — a rather startling one — was a sort of bewilderment which apparently prevented its being taken seriously. The public got one clear impression: religious classes should not be held in school-rooms. The judicial position developed by the Court never took hold of the public mind.

What was novel in the *Everson-McColum* doctrine — the crucial point appears in both of these cases — was the use of the three words "aid all religions" in the prohibition announced by the Court. No laws may be passed which "aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another." The ban against *preferring* one religion had been taken for granted since "established" churches were done away with. Patently, "aid" in varying degree is given by government to religion in general in many forms which have been enumerated again and again. Some of the most conspicuous are the chaplaincy in the armed forces, in penal institutions, and in legislative bodies; the exemption of church property from taxation and the protection of title to such property in courts of law; the issuance of religious proclamations by presidents and governors; provision of secular textbooks for children attending parochial as well as for those attending public schools; and similar provision of free transportation to and from school. The textbook matter had been previously settled by the Supreme Court and the constitutionality of unrestricted free transportation was affirmed in the *Everson* case itself, in which the doctrine of no aid to "all religions" was first formulated. It seems clear that so rigid a doctrine, regardless of what history may have to say of its judicial merit, was bound either to undergo revision or to bring about drastic changes in common practice which it is quite unrealistic to contemplate.

What amounted, from a lay viewpoint, to a revision of the rigid doctrine the Court

had promulgated came in the *Zorach* case, decided in the spring of 1952. In practical effect, the principle of cooperation between state and church, within certain limits, was substituted for that of absolute separation. The Court said: "When the State encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs."

A layman can hardly avoid the impression that the majority of the Court felt the necessity to recede from the absolutist position embodied in the earlier decisions and to render a judgment nearer to the realities of the American situation — not to say, within the bounds of enforcibility. Thus the present judicial situation creates a presumption in favor of the position which this Committee has taken from the beginning. While I have never thought that our proposals would be subject to a Supreme Court ban, even in the light of the *McColum* case, it must be said that the philosophy of our Committee is much more in line with that which is reflected in the ruling opinion in the *Zorach* case.

It is doubtless gratuitous to speculate on the possible relationship between judicial decisions and the course of events. Yet I am constrained to point out that the promulgation by the Supreme Court of an absolutist doctrine seems to have been the signal for a reexamination by educational leaders of the whole question — a process characterized by a pragmatic approach in line with historical development; and that the subsequent modification of the Court's position in turn indicated a departure from absolutist doctrine concerning the separation of church and state.

The new constructive interest in the place of religion in public education has been manifested during the last few years in an impressive number and variety of ways.

The Educational Policies Commission, which has rendered liberal educational leadership of a high order, issued a highly sig-

nificant report in 1951 under the title, *Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools*. In the section dealing with religion the Commission set forth with emphasis a recommendation substantially identical with that which our Committee had made in 1947: objective study of religion as empirical cultural fact. The Commission designated this approach as "teaching about religion."

"The public schools," said the report, "can teach objectively about religion without advocating or teaching any religious creed. . . . Knowledge about religion is essential for a full understanding of our culture, literature, art, history, and current affairs."

A noteworthy conference on religion in teacher education was held at Yale University in 1952, at which active interest in this field was reported from a large number of teacher education institutions.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, with the aid of a grant from the Danforth Foundation, initiated in 1953 a novel project of great promise. In that project teachers colleges and schools of education in various parts of the country are conducting coordinated efforts to "discover and develop ways and means to teach the reciprocal relation between religion and other elements in human culture in order that the prospective teacher, whether he teaches literature, history, the arts, science, or other subjects, shall be prepared to understand, to appreciate, and to convey to his students the significance of religion in human affairs."

The workshop on "Moral and Spiritual Values in Education," established some years ago at the University of Kentucky, is now well known. Among the proposals formulated there is the following: "The school should create respect for the various forms of religious beliefs and practices through an understanding of the historical and social conditions under which they have arisen. Through visitation and observation the school should give the pupil an understanding and appreciation of the ex-

pressions and operations of religion in the local community."

Kent State University is another center of significant exploratory activity. It has conducted in-service workshops in local school systems in Ohio, designed to discover and develop moral and spiritual values in the public schools. The role of religion is considered in this context.

Columbia University conducted a fruitful conference on religion and education in 1954 as a feature of its Bicentennial program.

Union Theological Seminary has for the last five years conducted a seminar with workshop features for selected public school teachers and administrators who are concerned to clarify their vocational responsibility with respect to religion. The project, which has been financed by the General Services Foundation, is carried out within the general framework of our Committee's analysis.

Among official religious bodies there has been much activity in the field we have been exploring. The National Council of Churches has a well-established Department of Religion and Public Education which, in the development of its program, has made constructive use of materials developed by our Committee or pursuant to its exploratory studies.

The Roman Catholic position with respect to the place of religion in general education is well known. Because it has been authoritatively formulated, and because it is a matter of faith we cannot point to any specific impact of the work of the American Council's Committee on Catholic policy. It should be noted, however, that in recent years authoritative Catholic pronouncements have stressed the essential role of the public school in meeting the needs of American youth, and the resulting necessity of a positive attitude toward religion in schools which, in the nature of the case, must be under secular control. Monsignor William McManus, Assistant Secretary General of the National Catholic Education Association, when asked in the course of a

workshop program what Catholics expected of the public schools, replied:

"Catholics expect them to teach the regular subjects in an objective, complete and integral manner so that the students on all levels will discover for themselves the significant role of religion in human affairs, past and present. They expect public schools to refrain from indoctrinating pupils in a doctrinaire, secularistic philosophy of life which avowedly discounts the importance of religion in all affairs."

Jewish educational leaders have given protracted and critical study to the reports issued by our Committee. As a minority group having a huge stake in free, democratically controlled public schools, Jews are naturally apprehensive of any hint of sectarian intrusion into the school program. I think this apprehension is not without warrant in so far as it is inspired by overzealous efforts on the part of non-Jewish religious groups to bring sectarian influence to bear on the schools. I am impressed, however, by the readiness of Jewish leaders to accept *in principle* our basic contention concerning the responsibility of the public schools in this area. For example, the American Jewish Committee has said:

"The schools should also foster an appreciation of the impact of religion on our civilization. Indeed, this knowledge is intrinsic to a well-rounded education. Such events as the Crusades, the Reformation and the colonization of America would be hopelessly distorted if religious motivations were not given proper weight. It would be equally wrong to omit the Bible from courses in literature or to ignore religious influences in the study of art."

An interreligious approach to the problem has been effectively fostered for several years by the Religious Education Association through conferences, seminars, local chapter meetings, and the magazine *Religious Education*. The Association is currently stressing the problems of higher education in this area, which are relevant to our main concern because of their bearing on the preparation of teachers.

Surely, this series of developments — only a partial list — abundantly warrants the venture the American Council on Edu-

cation has made in territory that had previously been insufficiently explored. Indeed, the new interest and activity in this field might almost be called a "movement."

IV

I shall venture now to comment on certain aspects of the present situation which seem to me to call for serious thought as we consider future strategy.

First, we must face the fact that the position our Committee has taken in opposing everything in the nature of a theological commitment on the part of the public school itself is challenged as too conservative by many educational and religious leaders. We were sharply criticized at the outset on the ground that we had loose ideas about the separation between church and state. Now, the climate of opinion has changed to the extent of putting us on the defensive for taking separation too seriously.

Mr. Justice Douglas, in the ruling opinion in the *Zorach* case, wrote a sentence that has probably been quoted more often than any other judicial utterance in recent years. "We are," he said, "a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." I believe that sentence is strictly true, but I am troubled by the possibility that it may be taken as signifying a belief to which all teachers are expected to subscribe. The matter is by no means academic. Indeed the major present concern of many religious and educational leaders with respect to the issue here under discussion seems to be that public education shall be definitely committed to a theistic position.

Some large school systems are shaping their curricula in this direction. An official publication of the Department of Instruction of the St. Louis Public Schools (1954) contained these directions for the teacher: "He shall endeavor to develop in his pupils principles of morality, love of God, and love of man. No teacher shall exercise any sectarian influence in the schools. . . ."

A "Guide to Moral and Spiritual Education" prepared for the San Diego (Cal-

ifornia) public schools in 1953 and authorized for "experimental use" contains the following paragraph:

"American traditions, ideals, and institutions are founded on a belief in God and in recognition of His existence. Through great documents, which record historic decisions, and the instruments of government that set the pattern for democracy, Americans have demonstrated unswerving belief in God's existence. As the Pilgrims drew up their Mayflower Compact 'in the presence of God' and as the signers of the Declaration of Independence attributed their rights to their 'Creator,' so today, in our schools, we assume that our students believe in God as defined for each of them in their home and church."

The much-publicized school prayer proposed by the Board of Regents of the State of New York is noteworthy in this connection. The Regents said: "We believe that at the commencement of each school day the act of allegiance to the Flag might well be joined with this act of reverence to God: 'Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country.'"

The trend, in mood or in practice, indicated by these citations must be taken into account by all students of the problem. Of somewhat similar import are certain pronouncements of Protestant and Catholic organizations.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. has declared: "In some constitutional way provision should be made for the inculcation of the principles of religion, whether within or outside the precincts of the school, but always within the regular schedule of a pupil's working day."

A President-General of the National Catholic Education Association has said: "We must appeal to American honesty and ingenuity to find a solution to the problem of restoring religion to the curriculum of all schools, without injury to the rights of any parent, and with equal justice to the rights of every child."

Especially in the matter of religious observances in connection with the great Christian festivals, it seems quite imprac-

licable to enforce any one pattern designed as normative for the nation as a whole. A community that is relatively homogeneous and strongly religious is likely to insist that some token of its common faith find a place in the school program. That the sensibilities of minority groups which are deeply committed to a faith of their own are often offended in this way is a grievous fact. There are situations in which it seems practically impossible for the majority to enjoy in reasonable degree the "free exercise of religion" without the hazard of embarrassment and chagrin to members of a small minority. Here a large measure of understanding, forbearance, and restraint is called for. Yet I am strongly inclined to the view that the democratic process, informed by spiritual discipline, is our first and chief resource — not legislatures nor courts. Appeal to the courts is an indispensable recourse for redress of an actual infringement of liberty, but is it not now sufficiently clear that the conditions of genuine freedom have to be discovered and defined in a context of the social and cultural environment?

I have come to believe, as a result of experience during the period here under review, that the effort to construct a national procedural norm with respect to the vital and vexing issue we are here confronting has been a serious mistake. It is one thing to do this in the matter of race segregation, which, in spite of many negative instances, is opposed by the very genius of American institutions; it is something quite other to set arbitrary limits — important though limits are — to the expression of religious faith and devotion, which is a major characteristic of the American people and deeply imbedded in our tradition.

These considerations do not, I am persuaded, invalidate the position we have consistently defended — that religion should be studied objectively in the schools rather than taught dogmatically on public school authority. At the same time it is evident that in this controversial area we "face a condition and not a theory" — that in the past there has been too great a tendency on both sides of the argument to be doc-

trinaire. In practice, the demands of the local community are bound to be a powerful determinant in the making of school policy. Moreover, we have a significant tradition of local control over education which is at this moment being strongly emphasized. The boundary between state or federal control and local autonomy is tenuous and shifting. Recent experience with reference to religion in the schools indicates that the line cannot be arbitrarily drawn without political and social hazard.

It is in this connection that I have felt regret over the all but exclusive preoccupation of our Committee with the secondary level of public education. For the most insistent demands that come from the community for explicit recognition of religion in the school program have to do with religious ceremonial and symbolism to which young children are particularly responsive. Paradoxically, it is the most intense forms of religious expression — the ritualistic forms — that the secular school finds it hardest to avoid. Here is where the popular urge is strongest. We shall not solve our problem in terms of "study about religion" to the exclusion of those phases of the problem that are quite as relevant to the elementary level. Here I am not sure that even the right questions have been formulated.

We must also give serious thought to the role of religion in counseling — in what is commonly called guidance. While subscribing to the principle laid down by the Educational Policies Commission that religious sanctions may not be authoritatively invoked — that is, declared to be binding on individual conscience — in the public school, I nevertheless believe that these sanctions have an indispensable place in any guidance program. By this I mean, not sanctions imposed by the teacher or by the school, but sanctions that a wise counselor finds to be authentic in the personal and family life of the individual under guidance. Competent counseling makes use of all the personal resources in hand. If it be said that this involves hazards, the obvious reply is that all counseling is hazardous,

but no hazzard is greater than failure to make use of an authentic spiritual resource when we are trying to lead growing persons to higher moral and spiritual levels of life.

been measurably accomplished but that the American Council should continue to be active in this field. What is most urgently needed now is laborious study and carefully planned, sustained experimentation to the end that knowledge and wisdom may match zeal in the effort to solve a basic educational and cultural problem.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I believe the task assigned our Committee has

Religion in Current Magazines

C. R. House, Jr., Associate Professor, State College, Fairmont, W. Va.

ON METHODS: "The class as a group is a more effective teacher than the well-informed adult," says Dr. William Sydnor in *International Journal of Religious Education*, June, '57. Writing on "Teachers Use Group Dynamics," he defines the term, calls it not a secular fad. On the importance of motivation he says, "Everyone's mind is a fortress secured from the inside . . . unlocked only from the inside . . . the key is *motivation*."

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AUDIO-VISUAL: The November '57 issue of *International Journal of Religious Education* will feature audio-visual aids in Christian education. Questions (and suggestions) in this area are invited by the publication.

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LIKE VS. LOVE: Frederick B. Speakman says "Nobody up there *likes* you," in writing about a popular song of religious feeling in *Presbyterian Life*, May 25, '57. Good article for your files, for a talk to young people, for correlation with audio aids, for your cogitation.

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PRAYER: Don't miss "More Things Are Wrought by Prayer" in *Reader's Digest*, June '57. Stanley High writes it about a dedicated group in Philadelphia experiencing the healing power of prayer.

* * * *

MORALS: A new series of articles on America's moral crisis is to appear in *Better Homes & Gardens*. The first, "The Slavery of Sex Freedom," by Howard Whitman, is in June '57 issue. *Presbyterian Life* for May 11 also points to the lowering of ethical standards in America.

* * * *

SCIENCE AND RELIGION: British author C. A. Coulson's *Science and Christian Belief* is condensed in *Pulpit Digest* for June '57. This book won the first American Lecomte du Nouy Award for most effectively emphasizing the relationship between science and religion.

* * * *

ORTHODOXY VS. REALISM: In a critical study of Billy Graham's New York appearance, Edward J. Carnell discusses the relative values of orthodoxy and realism in "Can Billy Graham Slay the Giant?" It is in *Christianity Today*, May 13, '57. (I understand that *Christian Century* has also carried comments about Billy but that magazine is not on our *exchange list*).

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SIN: Paul Tillich has a new word for it — estrangement. The work of the Harvard theologian and his latest book, *Existence and the Christ* are reviewed in *Time*, June 19, '57.

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CHILDREN'S BOOKS: An article about and an annotated selected list of books for children prepared by Claire Huchet Bishop appears in *The Commonwealth* for May 24, '57. The emphasis is on the child from the "poor" home.

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JUDAISM: Can Judaism show anything comparable to such movements as Neo-Thomism in Catholicism and Dialectic Theology in Protestantism? Erich Unger answers his own question in "Modern Judaism's Need for Philosophy," in *Commentary*, May '57.

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BIBLE: More about Mark, "an intelligent rustic describing the wonderful events he has witnessed," is presented in *Catholic Digest* for June '57. The article, "Mark and His Gospel," is by Thomas Panowicz.

* * * *

A WOMAN RABBI?: Results of a limited survey of opinion by Bernard Postal on "Should Women Become Rabbis?" are given in *Jewish Digest*, May '57. The same issue contains "Religious Attitudes of Youth," by Charles I. Glicksberg.

PUBLIC AUTHORITY AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A brief survey of constitutional and legal limits

Arthur E. Sutherland

Bussey Professor of Law at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Conclusions

THE DUE-PROCESS and equal-protection clauses of the federal Fourteenth Amendment, as construed in one case by the Supreme Court, prohibit instruction in religion, in grade-schools, by professional churchmen. What restrictions, if any, beyond these specific limits the national constitution imposes, remain undecided. The language, though not the actual judgments, of the Supreme Court justices has been somewhat more sweeping in restrictive expression.

State constitutions and statutes differ widely in their restrictions of religious content in public school curricula; but a generalization might be this: "sectarian" instruction is forbidden in public schools, and public funds may not be used to promote sectarian ends.

State courts and administrators are surprisingly loose in construing "sectarian." The theory seems to be that an average of Christian doctrine, or perhaps of Judaeo-Christian doctrine is permissible as not sectarian, because it is not identifiable as Baptist, Catholic, Congregational, Jewish, Mormon, etc.

As a practical matter much Bible-reading, interdenominational religious instruction and even devotional exercise is conducted without legal interference in public grade-schools by direction of local school authorities. This immunity in practice may be accounted for by the somewhat ponderous character of constitutional and legal machinery, which is set in motion only in rare cases.

There is a distinction between devotional exercises and indoctrination on the one hand, and instruction in the history of human thought about religion on the other.

The latter is free from constitutional restriction, though it may be mistaken for the former in some cases, particularly when attempted with young children.

There is a distinction between young children and mature students. The constitutional cases generally arise from suspicion felt by parents, that their impressionable small children are being influenced by public school teachers against the parental faith.

There is a distinction between compulsory and voluntary attendance at an educational institution. Because no one is compelled to go to college, even public college instruction is much less apt to run into legal difficulty than religious instruction in lower schools.

I

Some Necessary Distinctions

The antinomies of government sometimes bemuse an observer. The President in his inaugural oath calls on God to help him preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, — that fundamental law which the Supreme Court once held, forbids religious instruction in a public grade-school.¹ A recurrent theme of social criticism is the decadence of the younger generation: like younger generations since time began it has forsaken the ancient ways and, for want of the wholesome godliness of the fathers, is bound for perdition. Public schools, where the ideas of the younger generation are largely shaped, must self-consciously shun advocacy of godliness, we are concurrently told, lest fundamental freedoms of the pupils be invaded. One reads of a deep malaise in

¹*McCullum v. Board of Education*, 333 U. S. 203 (1948).

society, of a wide yearning to return to ancient faith. One also reads that to permit private distribution of the King James Bible after school in a public classroom, to those children whose parents want it, is unconstitutional in New Jersey.² The lay reader may well be puzzled by assertions that religious content is proscribed in public education, and may wonder how this comes about in a nation whose free schools derive from theocratic New England, comes about in a republic whose coinage proclaims trust in God. This article proposes some examination of these contradictions.

At the outset one is conscious of a confusion of terms. Public education means many things.³ It is available to people of different ages, from the tot in kindergarten to the philosophy student in a state university. Nothing compels government to treat all these alike. Religious content may well be legally tolerable in college teaching where it would not be in the fifth grade. The first lesson in constitutional law is that equality is required only when there is no good reason for inequality. To a certain extent constitutional limitations follow popular sentiment; one seems to sense an opinion that the objectionable character of religious manifestations in public education diminishes in inverse relation to the increasing intellectual resistance of the maturing student. It may be tolerated, that is to say, provided it is ineffectual and therefore awakens no resentment, — tolerance and indifference being first cousins, whose relationship is often decorously ignored.

Then, too, religious education is a term which may apply to many different sorts of classroom exercises. It is conceivable that if I were teaching in a public high school I might assure my young charges that they were about to receive the ultimate truth, and require them for that purpose to memorize the

Thirty-nine Articles of Religion as established by the Bishops, the Clergy and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in Convention, on the twelfth day of September in the Year of our Lord, 1801.

This would probably get me in trouble with some pupils and parents,, with the Principal, the Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Education, and perhaps with the state and federal courts.

Or I might be trusted to teach high-school seniors modern history, and I might use in class the admirable high-school text of the late Carl L. Becker of Cornell. When we came to page 39, we should have to discuss "The Reformation or Protestant Revolt." I could not explain this part of the current of thought in the western world without explaining a number of the same ideas set out in the Thirty-nine Articles. I am confident that there would be little chance that my instruction would be censored by any public authority.

There is, that is to say, a great difference between the advocacy of religious dogma, and on the other hand the exposition of the history of man's ideas. I concede at once that these two meet, and merge at the point of meeting. A historical lecturer might discuss the ideas of the Reformation with expressions of satisfaction, or with evident abhorrence.

"Every idea is an incitement. It offers itself for belief, and, if believed, it is acted on unless some other belief outweighs it, or some failure of energy stifles the movement at its birth. The only difference between the expression of an opinion and an incitement in the narrower sense is the speakers' enthusiasm for the result. Eloquence may set fire to reason."⁴

Nevertheless the distinction between doctrine and exposition is fairly clear. I can teach history unhampered by the law where I would be stopped if I started to preach sermons.

Thus standards of constitutional tolerance seem different for students at different stages of maturity, and for instruction with

²*Tudor v. Board of Education*, 14 N.J. 31 (1953); certiorari denied 348 U.S. 816 (1954).

³This article discusses only public institutions. Parochial or other private institutions may of course teach religious matters without governmental intervention.

⁴Mr. Justice Holmes, dissenting in *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

differing emphasis. Furthermore standards vary with levels of government. The federal Constitution has restricted comparatively little religious schooling. Only once in its history has the Supreme Court of the United States ever adjudged any religious instruction in a public school to be barred by the national Constitution. State Constitutions are more explicit in their inhibitions, and religious manifestations which might escape the impact of the Fourteenth Amendment are apt to conflict with a State clause. Local government may be more restrictive than either. The trustees of a School District have to respond quite sensitively to local sentiment, and a teacher or school principal who wished to introduce some religious instruction against the wishes of his trustees would be in trouble at once. On the other hand, much religious teaching may continue in response to community desires, unhampered in actual practice by restrictions in the State or federal constitutions, which would stop the program if the somewhat ponderous constitutional machinery of inhibiting procedure were set in motion. Most educational policy is locally determined, and perhaps this is just as well.

II

The Federal Constitution and The United States Supreme Court

The First Amendment to the Federal constitution, which took effect in 1791, put certain limits on the government of the United States, but imposed no limits whatever on the several states. Its first clause, which concerns the subject of this article reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ."

The reason for this insertion seems quite obvious. The people of the several states had somewhat reluctantly accepted the new federal constitution of 1789. They were suspicious of the powers entrusted to the "federal colossus," and their ratifying conventions in many cases expressed the hope that a series of limitations might be placed

on the central government. A state like Massachusetts, which during the first third of the nineteenth century continued to give tax support for the Congregational Church, could very well have looked with hostility at the prospect of a federal government establishing an Episcopal regime, or restricting by Act of Congress the exercise of religions in the several states. The First Amendment ended these worries.

There was no suggestion, in 1791, that the federal government should be given a general mandate to protect the people of any state against its own state government. Only after eighty years and a civil war, in 1868, was the Fourteenth Amendment adopted imposing on the federal government the general duty to protect the people of each state against outrage by their own state governments. The Fourteenth Amendment is expressed in vague terms. It says nothing about religious freedom or religious establishments. Its language germane to the subject of this article is:

" . . . Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Much of the study of constitutional law turns upon the meaning of these words. In one case (and only in one) has the Supreme Court of the United States held that the conduct of a compulsory public school concerning religious instruction attained such a degree of unreasonableness that it fell within the proscription of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The case in question is *McCullum v. Board of Education*,⁵ in which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional an arrangement in force in the public schools of Champaign, Illinois, which permitted the school buildings to be used for short periods during the week for instruction given by religious teachers of various denominations, having no other connection with the school system. The mother of a boy named Terry McCollum, who was a convinced atheist objected to the religious instruction of

⁵See footnote 1.

her son. Accordingly the boy in order to avoid the instruction in question, was obliged to ask permission (readily granted) to go to some other place in the school building to pursue secular studies while the religious class was being held. The U. S. Supreme Court, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Black, said:

"The operation of the state's compulsory education thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects. Pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon the condition that they attend the religious classes. This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith. And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment (made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth). . . ."

The language of Mr. Justice Black is particularly interesting in its suggestion that the general terms of the Fourteenth Amendment, by a sort of shorthand, expressed in brief the more specific and detailed restrictions of the First Amendment, and forbade the states to do what the Federal Government had previously been forbidden to do. Mr. Justice Frankfurter delivered a separate opinion in which Justices Jackson, Rutledge, and Burton joined. His opinion seems to stress more the hardship imposed upon the individual child, and is more suggestive of the reasoning in cases of racial discrimination. It points out, respecting children like Terry:

"The children belonging to these non-participating sects will thus have inculcated in them a feeling of separatism when the school should be the training ground for habits of community, or they will have their religious instruction in a faith which is not that of their parents."

One of the most difficult things to remember about constitutional law is that the opinions of the justices often express ideas much more sweeping than the actual matter decided. For example, in 1947 the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Everson v. Board of Education*,⁶ actually decided the

rather narrow point that a New Jersey tax payer had no grievance under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment when public funds, to which as a tax-payer he was obliged to contribute, were used to pay the transportation of some children in the community to Catholic parochial schools. The Supreme Court held this local school arrangement constitutional. But the language of the court goes far beyond the holding. Mr. Justice Black, having stated that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids the state to do what the First Amendment forbids the Federal Government to do, goes on to say:

"The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect 'a wall of separation between Church and State.'"

This eloquent and sweeping dictum scarcely corresponds with the actual decision in the New Jersey Bus Case and the latest word by the Supreme Court on schools seems to have cut down the authority of the *McCullum* case which held unconstitutional the Champaign plan of religious instruction. This was *Zorach v. Clauson*,⁸ decided in 1952. At issue here was the propriety under the Fourteenth Amendment of releasing children from New York public schools, during normal hours of classroom

⁶330 U.S. 1 (1947).

⁷330 U.S. 1 at page 15 (1947).

⁸343 U.S. 306 (1952).

work for instruction at various religious centers while non-participating children were compelled to stay on the school premises engaged in secular studies. Mr. Justice Jackson, whose words were apt to be pungent, said that under these circumstances the public school "serves as a temporary jail for a pupil who will not go to Church." The only difference between the *Zorach* and *McCullum* cases seems to be that in the latter the instruction was carried on in the schoolhouse; how this imposes more hardship on the dissenting child than that in the *Zorach* case is not easy to see. And indeed, the degree of the spiritual duress imposed on Terry McCollum when he was obliged to leave the schoolroom and read a book somewhere else while his schoolmates had religious instruction, scarcely seems to rise to the same level as the compulsory segregation of Negroes, or the extraction of evidence from a prisoner by forcible administration of an emetic. The *Zorach* case may be taken to suggest that the Supreme Court will not undertake to protect the people of a state against every chemical trace of spiritual embarrassment from public authority.

The Supreme Court of the United States during its 167 years, has considered only ten cases involving the religious problems of publicly maintained schools.⁹ The brevity of this list (considered in the light of the observances in many hundreds of schools in many states) suggests that the Federal Constitution as actually applied may not have seriously hampered moderate religious

manifestations in the public schools of the nation. The specific facts in the *Champaign, Illinois* case, should be remembered; the children, unless excused, were present under compulsion; the instruction was given on public school premises; the children were of grade school age; the teaching was done by outside sectarian religious instructors not in the public school system. What restrictions the Fourteenth Amendment may place upon instruction by regular members of the school staff; or upon instruction of high school or college students; or instruction in the philosophy of religion rather than in the advocacy of its doctrines; all these questions remain to be tested in the Federal courts. And the Supreme Court has indicated that it will listen only to a complainant with some discernible personal grievance. That Court is not maintained to judge debates on abstract questions, even when these concern the separation of Church and State.

III

State Constitutions and State Courts

Public education is almost entirely carried on by the states; if private it is regulated by them. Federal officers have business with educational functions in the states only when the states look to the United States for aid, or, what is more relevant here, where an individual feels that the state has done him some harm which, under the Fourteenth Amendment, the Federal Government should correct. Because these latter circumstances are infrequent, the great majority of regulations of all sorts covering education emanate from the states alone. The senior state law, the state constitution, ordinarily provides in some way for an absence of sectarian manifestations in public instruction. Thus the constitution of New York, after a preamble which recites that the people of the state are "grateful to Almighty God for our freedom," by its eleventh article, on education, provides:

"Neither the state nor any subdivision thereof shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or

⁹*Quick Bear v. Leupp*, 210 U.S. 50 (1908), — Indian treaty funds may be used for a Catholic school on a reservation. *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925), — a State statute requiring public school for all violates XIV Am't. *Cochran v. Louisiana*, 281 U.S. 370 (1930), — free public textbooks for parochial pupils do not violate XIV Am't. *Hamilton v. Regents*, 293 U.S. 245 (1934), — a State university may require military training, even of conscientious objectors. *West Virginia v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1943) overruling *Minersville v. Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586 (1940), — public school requirement of a flag-salute from conscientious objectors violates XIV Am't. *Everson v. Board*, footnote 6, above. *McCullum v. Board*, footnote 1, above. *Doremus v. Board*, footnotes 13 and 14 below. *Zorach v. Clauson*, footnote 8, above. See also *Gideons v. Tudor*, footnote 16, below.

maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught, but the legislature may provide for the transportation of children to and from any school or institution of learning."¹⁰

The New Jersey constitution, after an expression of gratitude similar to that of New York, provides:

"There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another; . . ."¹¹

Kentucky, after a similar preamble, provides that

"No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect, society or denomination; nor to any particular creed, mode of worship or system of ecclesiastical polity; nor shall any person be compelled to attend any place of worship, to contribute to the erection or maintenance of any such place, or to the salary or support of any minister of religion; nor shall any man be compelled to send his child to any school to which he may be conscientiously opposed; and the civil rights, privileges or capacities of no person shall be taken away, or in anywise diminished or enlarged, on account of his belief or disbelief of any religious tenet, dogma or teaching. No human authority shall, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience."¹²

One could continue this inventory to the point of weariness. It becomes apparent, on examination of a few state constitutions, that in general their provisions against the intermixture of the secular and the religious, in any governmentally controlled institutions are much more precise and definite than the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. As one might expect, the number of cases reported from state courts is very much greater than the limited group in the Supreme Court of the United States. To attempt to catalogue all this mass of legal material would tire the eye and extend this article far beyond its permitted limits. A wiser procedure seems to be to select a few

conspicuous features common to much state litigation and discuss these as symptomatic of others.

"Sectarian"

One of the surprising discoveries of the young lawyer is the relevance and wisdom of a good many observations not found in law books. Humpty-Dumpty was something of a jurisprudent when he said "When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less."

The Constitutions and statutes of a great many states, in one form of words or another, forbid "sectarian" instruction, but this term does not define itself. From time to time in every part of the country, a problem is caused when the members of some local school board feel that it would be wholesome for the young people under their charge to have some religious exercise in school, often reading from the Bible, sometimes prayers or hymns. State Supreme Courts are from time to time faced with the question of reconciling this local desire with the provisions of their state constitutions forbidding sectarian teaching. This has recently given rise to an interesting opinion in New Jersey. In 1950, a taxpayer named Doremus carried to the Supreme Court of that state an action against his Board of Education,¹³ and the State itself. Mr. Doremus sought a judgment declaring the unconstitutionality of certain New Jersey statutes requiring the reading of five verses from the Old Testament at the beginning of each classroom day, and directing that no religious service or exercise "except the reading of the Bible and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer" should be held in any public school. He predicated his argument on the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution, and the Supreme Court of New Jersey found these provisions not infringed by the exercises described in the New Jersey statutes. Mr. Doremus does not appear to have based any argument on the provision of Article 1, Paragraph 4 of the New Jersey constitution that

¹⁰N.Y. Constitution, Art. XI, Sec. 4.

¹¹N.J. Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 4.

¹²Kentucky Constitution, Bill of Rights, Sec. 5.

¹³*Doremus v. Board*, 5 N.J. 435 (1950).

"There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another."

nor did the New Jersey Supreme Court in the Doremus case expressly raise this point. The court, however, stated:

"We consider that the Old Testament and the Lord's Prayer pronounced without comment are not sectarian, and that the short exercise provided by the statute does not constitute sectarian instruction or sectarian worship. . . ."

Mr. Doremus, disappointed, attempted to appeal to the United States Supreme Court from the judgment of the New Jersey Supreme Court, but his appeal was dismissed on the ground that he was not hurt by the New Jersey exercises, as no expense was shown to the taxpayers in consequence of these services.¹⁴

In 1953, another New Jersey taxpayer named Tudor who was also a parent of a pupil in the public schools of Rutherford in that state, carried a case to the Supreme Court of New Jersey, seeking to enjoin the members of the School Board from permitting the distribution after school hours, but on school premises, to children whose parents requested it in writing, of copies of the "Gideons' Bible," a book containing all of the New Testament, and the Psalms and Proverbs from the Old Testament, all without note or comment conformable to the edition of 1611, commonly known as the King James Version. The distribution was made by members of the Gideons' organization. The Supreme Court of New Jersey held that this was a sectarian manifestation of religion, and that it was intolerable under the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution, and was also in conflict with the provision of the New Jersey constitution Article 1, Paragraph 4, forbidding any "establishment of one religious sect in preference to another."¹⁵ This time the Gideons and the Board of Education were annoyed; they in turn attempted to carry their case to the Supreme Court of the United States. After a delay of

some months, however, that court declined to consider it on the merits.¹⁶ Thus the Old Testament and the Lord's Prayer seem to be nonsectarian in New Jersey, but the Gideons Bible seems to be sectarian and forbidden under the state constitution. Such puzzling differences of opinion may be observed elsewhere in the United States. The New Jersey Supreme Court in the Doremus opinion mentions twelve states and the District of Columbia as requiring the reading of the Bible in public school classes, and five other states as making its use permissive. Bible reading has been upheld in a number of state Supreme Court decisions and has been struck down in others. This diversity is irritating alike to lawyer and layman who wish to prepare a neat summary of the law. Such an undertaking is all the more difficult because decisions vary in time as well as in space; what is law in a given state last year may not be next year. The diversities in space result from the federal structure of the nation. When the Constitution of the United States was devised, the fathers thought wise to permit to the several states a certain amount of local idiosyncrasy. Although this is probably diminishing with the passage of years, a portion of it still remains and in no subject is it more conspicuous than in that of religious education in the public schools.

A Clerical Faculty in a Public School

One of the most persistent problems in American public education arises out of the presence of religious schools in need of funds for efficient operation, in territories where there are numbers of young people in need of schooling, but not adherents of the religions of the sectarian schools. The local public school authorities, who may not be subtle constitutionalists, are apt to conclude that the facilities of the religious schools should be made available to the children of the district generally, in exchange for some subsidy from public funds. Obviously, this situation may produce schools under various degrees of religious influence. A member of a religious order might, like any other

¹⁴342 U.S. 429 (1952).

¹⁵*Tudor v. Board*, 14 N.J. 31 (1953).

¹⁶348 U.S. 816 (1954).

teacher, be employed to teach in a public school, and few people would suggest his disqualification because of his belief alone. At the other extreme, a parochial school may be completely incorporated in the public school system, without change of religious symbols, instructional staff, religious costumes, or any other feature. Most problems of constitutional law are problems of degree, and that which is legally tolerable ends where the religious infusion becomes unreasonably great. Unhappily, a standard of reasonableness is one which cannot be drawn with mathematical certainty in this or any other field of government. Perhaps an examination of some cases of the sort suggested would be useful.

In 1917 such a problem arose in Kentucky in connection with the United Presbyterian Church.¹⁷ The Church owned Stanton College which conducted a grade and high school as well as collegiate instruction. The local public authorities, instead of building a school building of their own, contracted with Stanton College for the education of grade and high school pupils in Stanton's buildings. In a suit by certain taxpayers, the Kentucky Court of Appeals held that the Kentucky constitution was violated when any part of the common school fund was appropriated "in aid of any church, sectarian or denominational school"; and further held it unconstitutional for the trustees of any public educational corporation to enter into a contract by which their institutions were brought directly or indirectly under the influence or control of any denominational institution.

The difficulty of laying down general rules applicable to specific cases is pointed up by the result of a case decided by the Kentucky Court of Appeals in 1956, this time involving the conduct of public schools in buildings owned by the Catholic Church, rented or furnished rent free to the school board, in which classes were taught, in some instances by members of religious orders, wearing the religious costume and symbols of their orders.¹⁸ The majority of the

Court of Appeals held the arrangement constitutional, pointing out that if the nuns were prevented from teaching in the public schools because of their religious beliefs they would be denied the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court of Appeals distinguished a Missouri case which in 1953 arrived at an opposite result.¹⁹ There the facts were far different. In the Missouri case, the nuns lived in schools surmounted by crosses; religious holidays were observed, religious instruction was given in some of the schools, acolytes or older boys were excused during schools hours to attend weddings and funerals in the adjoining church. In effect, said the Kentucky Court of Appeals several of the schools involved in the Missouri case were really Catholic schools, instead of public schools with Catholic sisters teaching in them.

However, the Kentucky Court of Appeals in June, 1956 indicated that it was maintaining a vigilant watch over constitutional issues in the public schools.²⁰ In a taxpayers' suit the court found that substantially all the periodicals in a high school library were Catholic publications, which violated Kentucky Revised Statutes 158.180

"No book or other publication of a sectarian, infidel or immoral character, or that reflects on any religious denomination, shall be used or distributed in any common school. No sectarian, infidel or immoral doctrine shall be taught in any common school."

The court found that on certain occasions sectarian literature had been distributed. It enjoined these practices.

The importance of these minor controversies is probably not very great. State constitutional provisions vary considerably from state to state; they are supplemented by statutes which vary even more; and a decision within one state can rarely be carried authoritatively into another. The significant lesson to be drawn from the Kentucky cases and the decisions in other states

¹⁷*Williams v. Board*, 173 Ky. 708 (1917).

¹⁸*Rawlings v. Butler*, 290 S.W. 2d 801 (1956).

¹⁹*Berghorn v. Reorganized School District*, 364 Mo. 121 (1953).

²⁰*Wooley v. Spalding*, Sup't of Schools, 293 S.W. 2d 563 (1956).

discussed in the Kentucky opinions, is only this; that a great deal of local variation appears in state constitutions and laws governing religious education; and that the presence of frequent judicial opinions indicating controversies on the subject shows a continual impulse in local communities to introduce religious elements in public education.

IV

Some Benefits of Legal Imperfection

Institutions of public education disclose a considerable amount of religious influence at all levels. No matter what the constitutional theory, a good deal of religious doctrine finds its way into public school curricula. The Regents of the University of New York recommend prayer to start the school day, and scores of New York school districts take up the practice.²¹ In January, 1957 four residents of Nassau County were urging the New York State Education Commission to prohibit the New York Hyde Park school board from displaying an "interdenominational" version of the Ten Commandments in classrooms.²² Bible reading is mandatory in the schools of many states; and is permissive in others. When the student reaches junior college or university level he comes by his own choice. No law compels him to go to college, as it compelled Terry McCollum to go to grade school. He may very possibly find himself studying the theory of many religions

in courses called "Philosophy I," "History of Western Thought," "Christian Living," or "Life's Problems." In no case, as far as I know, has any court interfered with religious instruction on a college level. The only reported case that I can find where this was attempted²³ resulted in dismissal on procedural grounds before the court ever reached a study of the merits.

The Federal Constitution, as interpreted in the McCollum case, and the state constitutions in all their variety, impose on public teaching limits more formidable in theory than they may be in practice. The great multitude of comparatively minor religious manifestations which obtain in many grade and high schools probably thrive on local public approval. Most of them escape official interference because of the sheer inertia of the legal machinery, which tends to discourage prosecution, by disgruntled taxpayers and parents, of more than a few cases. No one should welcome judicial delay, expense, and uncertainty. Nevertheless the difficulties met by citizens who start lawsuits on constitutional grounds to enjoin local authorities from conducting some minor religious observances in the public schools may have some good aspects. The practical impossibility of consistent and doctrinaire constitutional literalism in matters of Church and State throughout our federal nation may be one of the curious benefits of the system. It seems to be one of those benign paradoxes which permit an adjustment of localism to national policy, and so make life reasonably tolerable in our widespread and diverse nation.

²¹N.Y. Times, Dec. 1, 1951, pg. 1. col. 1; March 29, 1955, pg. 31, col. 4.

²²N.Y. Times, Jan. 31, 1957, pg. 29, col. 2.

²³*Sholes v. Minnesota*, 236 Minn. 452 (1952).

III

RELIGION IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IDEAS

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I

RELIGIOUS IDEAS and religious forces parallel American life at every significant stage of development. If the new world emerged out of revolution, it was a religious as well as a social and economic revolution. Discovery, exploration, and settlement were not the outcome of economic drives alone. Ideas, attitudes, and values other than economic merged in subtle and ever-changing combination to spur men to action. Columbus set sail from Palos under the patronage of their Most Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The Admiral of the Ocean Sea spilled out his life to test a theory and fulfill a dream. While he was dedicated to the enhancement of the fortunes of Spain and of Columbus, he was also dedicated to the service of his Catholic God.

Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English empire-builders were no less eager to singe the beard of the King of Spain than to checkmate each other. Royal queens and regal bishops vied with merchant adventurers and bold pilots to capture fame and treasure. In the process the Catholic Cross and the Protestant Bible were planted deep in the soil of the western hemisphere from the Arctic Circle to the Straits of Magellan. For purposes of the present discussion the circumstances under which this cultural transmission was accomplished are less important than the historical fact. Proud Cortez vanquished Montezuma and while he despoiled the Aztecs of their gold, he destroyed their temples and the symbols of their faith. Pizarro humbled the Incas and filled the holds of Spanish galleons with their precious silver. But Franciscans and Dominicans brought the Spanish version of European culture to the southern section of the new world.

The French yearned for a shorter route to fabled Cathay and later planned to carve out colonial fiefs reared on fish and furs. But the French missionaries were the advance agents of European ideas as well as the pathfinders for trappers and traders who followed them into the western country and southward along the waters of the Mississippi. The Pilgrims carried the Reformation to Plymouth and the Puritans built a Bible Commonwealth in the New England wilderness. Hardly an exception can be cited to the pervasiveness of religious influence in the history of colonial America. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Quakers, the Mennonites, the Jews, and representatives of virtually every post-Reformation group added their special contributions to the ethnic and spiritual variety which became the United States. The wonder is not that the cultural strands of old Europe supplied the threads for the new design of the new world. The wonder is that the religious thread in the evolving national pattern is so faintly traced. The dye of influence colors the American texture whenever the influence is apparent. But the more subtle the train of consequences, the more pallid the awareness of religious forces. Once the cultural bases of institutions were altered and once ideas acquired added and different meanings, the religious antecedents frequently fade into a mystifying past.

II

The most startling omission in American historiography is the absence of a synthesis of religion. Equally startling is the inadequate treatment accorded religious factors in existing syntheses of American meanings. Between the commercial revolutions and the Reformation, the religious component in the upheaval of Europe could scarcely be

avoided. The expansion of Europe and the transplantation of western culture in Africa, India, China, Russia, and the Americas had a palpable religious dimension. The new world's first fruits were outgrowths of the planting of European civilization on western soil. None could assess the impact of Europe without benefit of religious thought during an era when the Catholic Church was universal in Christendom. None could ignore the differing intellectual contours of religious ideas in the years following the revolt of Luther. Yet the accounts of American historical scholars have generally been episodic, fragmentary, and limited. Economic interpretations of the background of colonization exist in profusion. There are institutional histories, literary histories, diplomatic histories, and histories of ideas. But no integrated philosophical analysis of religion has yet appeared. Historical accounts of denominations, churches, sects, and religious leaders continue to gather dust on library shelves. They are materials out of which a full scale analysis has still to be written.

W. W. Sweet's volumes most nearly approach completeness of coverage yet they are narrative and descriptive rather than analytical. The bibliography of American history is conclusive. Perry Miller's classic studies of the New England mind are unique. They are, however, confined to New England and there are no comparable studies of the Southern mind, the Western mind or of the mind of the Middle colonies. More importantly, there is no conceptual treatment of the ideas of Quakerism nor of Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism. There is no philosophical account of the Judaic-Christian tradition in America, no analysis of the role of religion in American thought or of the role of religion in the development of American attitudes and institutions. There is but one Parkman in the whole record of American historical literature and his work has never been matched in scope or brilliance. Henry Adams' *Chartres* stands alone, the single mark of genius in symbolic interpretation. When we speak of religious ideas in American

history, we are speaking in terms of partial knowledge.

The portents for the future are less bright than dark. The new *American Nation* series, like the old, makes history the slave of a rigid chronology thus making synthesis almost impossible. Topical treatments despite their fullness are no substitutes for essays in meaning. Even the *History of American Life*, devoted to a broader conception of culture, produced episodic rather than synthetic evaluations of ideas and institutions. We have been living in the age of the monograph since the decades following the Civil War. As monographs become longer and more detailed, syntheses become shorter and more general.

Such deficiencies in our knowledge deprive understanding of fullness. The deficiencies are the more serious as the force of religious ideas, far from diminishing in the so-called era of secularism, continue to influence American thought and action. During the decades succeeding the American Revolution religious assumptions permeated American thought although appearing in different verbal guises and operating through different institutions. Indeed we need to explore the hypothesis that precisely when religious ideas and institutions seem to lose their conventional forms, they acquire renewed vitality under different auspices. We are implicated in what might be called the fallacy of the suppressed comparative. We cannot avoid the quest for synthesis and we cannot fail to recognize the import of the religious factor. Yet, except for given periods and specific movements, we are insufficiently informed regarding the logical and social interrelations of religion with other forces in American life.

III

Secularism is a word which continues to delude us. We use it with unconscionable looseness and we apparently believe that its connotations provide immediate understanding. Actually its connotations are freighted with confusion, for secularism as a sociological and psychological process has not

been seriously studied by historians. And for the history of religion in the United States secularism is one of the key words. We are repeatedly confronted with such concepts as the "age of secularism" and the "secularization" of ideas and institutions. At no point in American history can secularism be avoided because secularism as a historical process predates the discovery of America. If we seek to unravel the meanings of the expansion of Europe, secularism pursues us. Whether we attempt to explain the disintegration of Puritanism, the movement for independence, and the formation of the Constitution, or the emergence of American nationalism, secularism becomes an inescapable part of the analysis. Secularism is a correlate of the industrial revolution in all its phases: the machine, the city, values, attitudes, and ideas.

A dramatic and vital aspect of the history of religion in America is the separation of Church and State. The doctrine of separation implies the secularization of the state. Religious historians — those identified with a particular faith — have often deplored separation as hurtful to religion, to morality, and to spiritual values. In fact the entire trend toward secularism has been lamented. To secularize the state does not denude the state of values. The state is not on that account deprived of spiritual duties or stripped of religious functions. On the contrary, the secularized State may serve religion as creatively as any conventional religious institution. The doctrine of separation was designed to create a greater freedom and a greater equality, concepts which notwithstanding their ancient philosophical lineage, are concepts with religious overtones.

The most successful and brilliant monographs involved in dealing with secularization present a uniform sequence of interpretation. The problem, as in Puritanism, begins with a body of religious ideas which are really philosophical assumptions. These religious ideas are then evaluated in a larger historical context and related to each other and to contemporary ways of behaving and doing things. Ideas, institu-

tions, and folkways, always in transition, are then described in the process of change which are referred both to internal cultural solvents and to the impact of novelty, contingency, and change from without. Changes result in new attitudes, new values, and new institutions almost invariably described as a dissolution of previously balanced cultural adjustments. Since, as in Puritanism, the ideas, albeit severed from their ecclesiastical and theological moorings, continue to persist, the ideas are said to have been secularized. But how? With what residues, by what cultural processes, with what consequences? As the ideas have been divorced from a given religious dispensation, it is easy to conclude that the underlying assumptions are no longer the same.

The revolutionary ferment in eighteenth century America represented in one of its phases the secularization of religious ideas. The age of reason, significantly coincident with the rise of evangelicalism, rested in one of its aspects on a body of doctrine denominated natural religion. Eighteenth century conceptions of natural law reflected a greater change in emphasis, in the perspectives of time and causation, than they reflected a fundamental change in basic assumptions. God may have been respectfully bowed out at the boundaries of the universe, but he remained nevertheless poised at its frontiers. God remained the Supreme Architect, the Great Designer, the Prime Mover whose fiat initiated the secondary laws by which the world was governed. The change was one of degree, not one of kind. It was a change in the conception of the manner in which the world was governed, not a change in the origin and source of its government. There was no real conflict between religion and science among the Puritans or among Americans during the pre-Civil War period. Science actually advanced as deism waned, for ultimate scientific assumptions were the ultimate religious assumptions. The very notion of order, of a rational order, of a universe instituted by reason and understandable through the processes of reason was a theological conception. In the beginning

there was the *Logos*, and the *Logos* was reason. The most unreflective deism was theological as the word itself suggests. And the most uncompromising secularism was a reaction *from* something. It was partly a reaction from supernaturalism and a tightly organized community composed of the elect of God. The evangelicalism of the frontier, beginning with Jonathan Edwards, was a revolt against formalism and an attack upon prescribed methods of salvation. Evangelicalism made for individualism and equality to the extent that its followers insisted upon the personal equality of believers in the sight of God. However violent the reaction to evangelicalism or to deism on the part of the exponents of the old order, however deep the apparent cleavage, both represented a conflict within religious thought, not a break with it. The crucial break came later with Darwin and evolution, a crisis in thought which historians thus far have hardly done more than to describe in narrative terms.

IV

The importance of the specific interrelations between religion and particular aspects of American history cannot be overstressed. Unitarianism and Transcendentalism were religious formulations with profound effects upon reform, democracy, and the continuing American tradition. The Home Missionary Movement supplied a carrier for New England culture in the West and gave higher education a denominational framework with results which have merged in our contemporary dilemmas. Anti-slavery impulses are now viewed as values emanating from a religious base. And the answer of pro-slavery dialectics spoke out of other varieties of religious experience. The Protestant crusade against "popery" was more than simply nativist and anti-Catholic; it reflected malignant tendencies in the functioning of democratic institutions. Connections between the idea of progress, rationalizations of the *status quo*, the gospel of wealth, and the doctrine of stewardship have not escaped historians if only for the reason that historians could not escape them.

Far more important than specific influences are the religious ideas which envelop whole aspects of American culture. The idea of democracy is the central concept of American civilization. Democracy is the American spirit, and the fulfillment of democratic aspirations is the American dream. The cluster of ideas which make up American democracy are not only indebted to Judaic-Christian sources but these sources are supernatural in historical origin. Basic to a belief in democracy is the concept of a fundamental law and a moral order, a fundamental law not made by man, but an eternal law made by God. Although the roots of this assumption may be traced to Plato, Americans entertained it as a religious doctrine. God created the moral law. He also created the human conscience and it was through the agency of the human conscience that man was able to grasp it. It was the moral law which, in Ralph Waldo Emerson's phrase, supplied the "constitution of the universe" and it was this universe which Margaret Fuller enjoined him to accept. When William H. Seward spoke of a law higher than the Constitution, he referred to the same divine dispensation. He meant what his contemporaries and many of his successors still mean: the reflection on earth of the divine law of heaven. The inscription on hundreds of courthouse porticos across the nation testify to a belief in law obedience to which is liberty. But if liberty is the reward of obedience to eternal law, it is not the liberty of democratic equalitarianism. It is the liberty to which the inherent nature of each man entitles him and mirrors the Platonic image of men of gold, or silver, and of iron. To devout believers in religious orthodoxy, the moral order was a divine order and human striving to attain it yielded an approximation of ultimate reality. To sceptics and deviants, it was natural law. But in either case the underlying premises although suppressed were the same.

The concept of individual freedom flowed from the concept of the moral law. Society advanced as man grew in moral stature and man grew in moral insight as society pro-

gressed. A law of progress shaped man's ends and the law, not man himself, made for righteousness. The progress of society, in other words, supplied evidence for the progress of man as society advanced in proportion to man's comprehension of the immutable principles of existence. As man learned the ways of the universe and learned to conduct himself in harmony with those ways, he matured as a free individual. The ultimate truth alone could thus make him truly free just as he was free to grow in wisdom and virtue. But do we mean the same thing when we use the same words today? The doctrine of the free individual has been secularized, but has secularization changed its meanings?

Nineteenth century versions of liberty implied conformity to a fundamental law once the fundamental law was apprehended. And once apprehended man was liberated from moral astigmatism and freed from the restraints of ignorance. The maxim "the less government the better" lies behind such convictions and these convictions are still regnant in powerful sectors of American society. Emerson expressed this belief with characteristic succinctness. "To educate the wise man the State exists, and with the appearance of the wise man the State expires." If the state was destined to wither away, government and the state were transitional. They were transitional institutions designed for the progressive improvement of man and society. Under the dictates of this theory man was envisioned, not as doing what he could, but as doing what he must. Here indeed was a theory of freedom, of liberty, and of progress, but how did the secularization of the later nineteenth century transform it?

V

To establish relations between concepts which are themselves imprecise is to commit the fallacy of the suppressed correlative. If there are secular ideas, there must be religious ideas with which to compare them. There must be such ideas if it is averred that secular ideas are without religious content. While there is no real agreement

concerning the content of American history, there is a general consensus concerning its scope. But the scope of religion is something less than clear. What exactly do we mean when we speak of religion in relation to American life? At what precise point in cultural analysis does an institution or an idea acquire a discrete and independent character? When is a concept or a fact utterly without relations? Is religion to be understood as a philosophical approach to the ultimate meanings of the universe? If so, it is simply a "candidate for truth" and therefore in conflict with other and different philosophies which are also candidates for truth. All must submit to the rigor of logical analysis and to the scrutiny of public examination. Only private views, privately held, can evade analysis and examination. Are religions traditional ways of looking at existence? If so, they must submit to the tests of history, philosophy, and psychology. Is religion a symbolic interpretation of cosmic and human history? If so, it must submit to the tests of total experience. Are religions varied efforts to devise ways of life for human guidance? If so, they must submit to the same tests.

When we speak of religion in America what do we mean? Do we mean the religions of the world or do we simply mean the three major western religious movements? Is the viewpoint we are asked to adopt secular or spiritual? Is it one of personal identification or one of sympathetic but detached analysis? Is it institutional or intellectual, objective or subjective, inclusive or exclusive, personal or social? Any reasonable approach demands recognition of all possible viewpoints. Emphasis of one to the exclusion of others is partial and warps perspective. The historical task is to encompass every variety of religious thought and expression and to incorporate them in an all-inclusive synthesis.

The content of religion must be systematically appraised and the meanings of religion vigorously defined before religion can be accorded serious historical treatment. Before religion in America can be properly treated, we need to know a great deal more

about it. We are not so much in need of the minute data of ecclesiastical evolution as we are in need of evaluations of speculative religious thoughts. Comparative and critical studies of broad scope are required, studies of the development of religious conceptions merged with other manifestations of the human spirit. The most pressing gap in American scholarship is a thorough-going examination of the Judaic-Christian tradition. What Francis Carnford and Jane Harrison did for ancient religious ideas is required for the comprehension of American religious ideas. Sterling Lamprecht's essay, *The Religious Traditions*, is suggestive, but a treatment in less than a hundred pages cannot accomplish a result which demands a many-volumed series. There is also need for an historical examination of theological speculation in America, for a sociological history of denominationalism, and for a cultural study of church organization broadly related to the evolving patterns of American life.

Until such work is undertaken, little progress can be made in solving the problems of religion and public education. There must first be clear understanding and agree-

ment concerning the values common to all religions before there can be any agreement upon which religious values should be taught in public, tax-supported schools. Without such agreement, the values we teach are likely to be our own. Religious elements in American history should be of course be presented. But they should be presented as integrated parts of the total culture and as objective manifestations of the total historical process. This is not to say that they should not be taught sympathetically. The historian must strive to identify with the historical subject matter. If he does not do so, he cannot hope to understand it. If he hopes to understand views alien to his own, he must first be able to impersonate them histrionically. He cannot properly criticize such beliefs in terms of his own convictions before he has succeeded in doing so. He must, however, be careful not to mistake religiosity for religion or to confound symbols with truth. Words, after all, are only the surrogates for things, and the historian as teacher must be as certain as human beings are permitted to be that the words he employs represent living meanings or meanings which once have lived.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO announces that the two week "Workshop on Pastoral Care" for clergymen, to be held August 5-16, 1957, will hold its classes in the Medical School.

Dr. Granger E. Westberg, director of the course and Professor of Religion and Health, holds a unique appointment on both the medical and theological faculties. This will make it possible for students in the Workshop to observe medical teaching methods. They will participate in Religion-Medicine Case Conferences where actual cases of mutual interest will be discussed by faculty members from Medicine, Psychiatry, Social Work, Psychology and Theology.

Congregations are encouraged to send their pastors to this unusual post-graduate Workshop because of the increasing number of inter-professional referrals being made between physicians and clergymen. It must not be considered a part of the pastor's vacation. He will be free to return home to conduct services on Sunday, August 11. The enrollment will be limited to give individualized instruction.

IV

THE RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TEACHING OF RELIGION AND THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

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THE TITLE suggests a speculative tract. But I believe that the interest of the Committee on Religion and Education is in the practical order. How does religion, or religious history, constitute a necessary element in American History? Does a degree of "religious literacy" help in the training of teachers of American History? Having in mind the desirability of stressing practical considerations, and of keeping this essay from becoming too long, I hope to answer these questions, (1) by discussing in general the relationship observed by myself — over the past twenty years of teaching — between religion and history, and (2) by a brief survey of the incidence of religion, the religious factor, and religious history in American History. There is here no promise of an exhaustive treatment of the first, and no definitive treatment of the latter point, but there should be sufficient material to promote some useful discussion.

I

There are some few who speak for an extreme form of Protestant thought who have denied the relevance of any history except as a record of sin. They would give us nothing much to talk about. However, Professor E. Harris Harbison has dealt with these in his stimulating essay, *Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in History*,¹ and the point of view taken here necessarily implies a high value for both religion and history, such as was pronounced by Pope

Pius XII in his allocution to the Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome, September 7, 1955.² If only a few religious thinkers have gone on record as seeing no great compatibility in religion and history, I fear that there have been many more historians who have taken such a stand. As we shall have occasion to note later, the first generation of professional historians in the United States were men who were not greatly interested in religion or in religious history. Many more of them, even today, when much more attention is paid to the importance of religious history, and particularly to religious ideas in history, hold a fundamentally secularist position.³ While these scholars may not be expressly committed to the extreme position of "historicism," a notion that change or evolution affects all reality, both spiritual and material, they do have a bias against theology which they consider to have become a discarded approach, something which history replaced. However, there are some indications of a change in this outlook, a willingness to admit that the subject of history is one which involves inevitably human beings in their setting, whether in the Ancient World, or in the United States, or in the Far East, and that religion is some-

²"No opposition will be found between Christianity and history, in the sense that would make history only an emanation of evil. The Catholic Church has never taught such a doctrine." Translation in the *London Tablet* CCVI (Sept. 24, 1955) (p. 292).

³Cf. *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*. Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 54 (New York, 1946). There have been disagreements with the findings of the Committee, as for example by Chester M. Destler, "Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Theory," *American Historical Review* LV (April, 1950) (pp. 503-529).

¹Published by the Edward W. Hazen Foundation (New Haven, n.d.) "In spite of the widespread current interest in history among theologians, the deepest currents in Protestant theology, particularly in Europe, can only be described as *anti-historical*. These currents find their source in Kierkegaard, in Barth, in Berdyaev, and in secular philosophers of the existentialist school." (p. 16)

thing like a key to an understanding of man. Also, today historians are more inclined to make judgments, rather than simply put the facts in order, and so they have to take a stand on the nature of man and his purpose in life. This requires that they frequently take account of religious history, to find a place for moral philosophy and theology, even if they are reluctant to recognize these as scientific disciplines.

It is reasonable to find history and religion compatible. Each has an autonomous position in education, each subject is a path to knowledge. At least on the levels of college and graduate school teaching — where my experience lies — there is no proper way of teaching history as an aspect of religion, no proper way of teaching religion as an aspect of history. Intellectual curiosity about the one subject may be aroused by the study of the other, but this elementary reciprocity in the study of both disciplines may lead to a warped appreciation of one or the other unless there is a possibility for specialization. On the other hand, where both disciplines have been developed in harmony, each as part of the balanced education of the whole person, I can vouch for the fact that to the history teacher it means something if only contributing economy in time. I do not refer here to the development of religious conviction, although teaching religion is something like teaching nutrition — there is some effect expected — and certainly I have never found religious conviction a bar to apprehending truth. What is meant rather is that a teacher of a Freshman survey of Western Civilization will be able to spend more time in teaching history if he can be sure that his students have a religious knowledge to begin with. Who was St. Paul? What are the seven sacraments? What is the contemplative life?

We could surely take up much more space with the incidental advantage of religious knowledge in the teaching of history, but that is not the primary purpose of this essay. There is just one more thing that needs saying. It is not just the student's

literacy in religion which can facilitate the learning process in history. The instructor can make some serious errors of interpretation if, where an exact knowledge is called for, he confuses the notion of fate with the idea of predestination in a religious sense, or if he identifies indulgences and the forgiveness of sins, or makes any one of a number of other errors which a weakness of understanding in matters of religion may induce.

The objective in which we are interested is to have history studied and well taught, particularly American History. The story of America is no exception to the general rule that all societies have some religious heritage. It would be readily conceded, I suppose, that we could not compare two civilizations like Mohammedanism and Western Europe's Christendom if we did not refer to certain basic religious comparisons. The scriptures and dogmas of the two civilizations really make a difference which no other "cause" explains. We recognize certain potentialities of the Christian society for example in the division of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, and at the same time certain limitations in Islam to be attributed to an identification of temporal and spiritual government. There is a great contrast between the willingness of the Christian world to appropriate the whole heritage of Greek and Roman learning and the disposition in most of the Mohammedan world to consider only the Koran as trustworthy, everything else being either superfluous or pernicious. One need not be a Toynbee to recognize that religion is decisive in determining a culture, or that history which ignores the basic ideas and ideals of a people in any era is at best a partial thing. The point is not without some importance to the teaching of American History.

A few decades ago the principal authority on American thought and civilization was Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*. A determined rationalist, with a prejudice strongly in favor of a secularized socialist society, Parrington was particularly caustic in his evaluation of the seventeenth century Puritans. In his

opinion only the liberalizing enlightenment, and the clarification of democracy by French revolutionary Jacobin influences, rescued America from a sterile tradition of piety and morality that was handed down from Calvinist divines. It was not just that he allowed his hatred of a Calvinist heritage to distort his judgment which makes Parrington so inadequate. It is rather that it got in the way of his understanding what he was talking about. More recent scholarship, notably that of Perry Miller, has served to correct Parrington's view of things. We know now that the origins of both conservative and liberal movements in American thought, the origins of both some Protestant piety and the rationalist solvent of some of the dogmas that underlay that piety, derive from divergent tendencies in a common theology of seventeenth century New England. The point is not that theology is hereby vindicated, it is just that in order to understand one of the most important aspects of our cultural past it became necessary for scholars to acquire a certain expertness in reading "divinity" as taught by Puritan theologians. Once the barrier of ignorance was broken the historian was better prepared to explain what he was talking about.

Before going on I should admit that there are certain dangers in the purely cultural approach to history. It is possible to over-emphasize its advantages. We can pass too readily over other things which need emphasis. So one has to be on guard against conditioning a prospective teacher of history to pass over lightly the material influence of economic activities or motivations. Military history is having a healthy revival, and we seem to be getting away from what one of my acquaintances in the historical profession called the dangerous "escapism" of the thirties when it seemed that military history was to be relegated to the dustbin of history. We have to keep in mind that anyone who teaches history creates an impression of history by what he or she selects for exposition. But these are not the worst dangers from over-emphasis on cultural history. The worst that could happen

would be to have history cease to be history, if historians should come to think of themselves as more than historians and try to become quasi-divines or prophets. I believe that this is what has happened to Arnold Toynbee.⁴ He may have — although I hope not — some American historians who, bitten by the bug of historicism, will, out of the different strands of America's religious and cultural heritage, try to construct the ideal eclectic or strictly American religion.

II

The teaching of American History has been necessarily dependent upon the work of those writers and research workers who, like so many chefs, make the salads. What goes into the bowl in turn depends upon their selection of materials. Ever since we have had a group of professional historians, or salad makers, which is to say since about the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the range of interests has been broad enough to include most aspects of history. However, until the 1930's these professional historians did not in general devote much attention to religious history. A possible reason for this is to be found in the reaction against the pietistic emphasis which had been characteristic of inspired amateurs ever since the Puritans of New England had begun to narrate the American story back in the seventeenth century. A characteristic seventeenth century title would be Capt. Edward Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*. The providential version of the beginnings of American History was also in evidence in the work of George Bancroft in the nineteenth century. His ten volume *History of the United States*, although it carried the story only to 1789, was devoted to the theme of God's chosen people, the Americans, who were able to work out their destiny of free government and society with divine aid. Furthermore, the beginnings of professional work in American History coincided with an era of confidence in science. Not only did it become bad form

⁴In his work, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*.

to attribute causes in history to wonder-working providences, it was considered more fruitful to investigate temporal and material conditioning elements in explaining the phenomena of history. A whole generation of historiography in the United States was affected by the geographical determinism of Frederick Jackson Turner and his epochal address of 1893 to the American Historical Association, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Finally, it seems to me, there was an awareness that America was coming of age in the twentieth century, which was preeminently one of competitive economic systems, or rather competitive national economies, so that it was only natural for the historians of America to look back at those material factors which shaped American society and to stress these as significant while they ignored or deprecated the religious aspects of our history. The religious elements in the American story were treated briefly and any special research in the field was left to the divinity school men. History was at the service of the age of progress.

One prominent figure in American historiography who was not satisfied with a completely secular interpretation of our history was Dr. John Franklin Jameson. Although he was the inspiration for many of the history projects of the time which reflected a preoccupation with other things, he showed on more than one occasion while he was Secretary of the American Historical Association an interest in religious history. This was not on his part an expression of piety, rather it was a manifestation of his profound understanding of the importance of religion in the American past, a realization that it was a real conditioning influence. Unfortunately he never published very much on the subject. There is only a mention, in the American Historical Association *Annual Report* for 1913 (I, 13), of the paper he read that year at the annual meeting of the Association in Charleston, South Carolina, on "Reasons for Studying American Religious History." However, some of those reasons became apparent

when he did publish his *American Revolution Considered As A Social Movement*.⁵ Dr. Jameson encouraged those who founded the American Catholic Historical Association and his correspondence as published recently is evidence of his alertness to the importance of any publication which had to do with religious history. One of his main concerns was to get the study going among the historians outside of schools of theology, to make it a regular concern of history departments everywhere, and among the reasons he gave in justification, apart from the importance of the subject, was its value as a means toward teaching fairness of mind.

Of course it was not fairness of mind which had characterized the older school of "religious" historians, particularly those who in the nineteenth century had written of America from the New England point of view. But there was, as Jameson knew, a broader view possible, one that was less sectarian or even less national. I suggest that such a point of view would stress the beginnings of American History in the history of Christendom. What the Christian society of Europe was in the middle ages constitutes the common past of most Americans; what happened to that society in the age of exploration and discovery, by way of religious development, contributed to the making of America as well as to the making of modern Europe. When America was discovered by Columbus there had not yet taken place those changes which brought the division of Christian society into Catholic and various forms of Protestantism, while the religious motivation of the early explorers, Portuguese and Spanish, cannot be stressed too much. An excellent treatment can be found in Samuel E. Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*. Beyond the matter of motivation there are also the

⁵Published by the Princeton University Press in 1926. A comment in the October, 1954, issue of the *American Historical Review* (LX, 10) by Frederick B. Tolles is in point: "What Jameson did — and it was no trifling achievement — was to bring American church history within the purview of American historians — to take, as it were, the first steps toward giving this neglected orphan child a home and a standing within the family of historical disciplines."

beginnings of international law as we know it in modern times. The norms of international law were established on the foundations of medieval jurisprudence, with notable contributions appearing in the work of Francisco de Vitoria in the sixteenth century. Finally, as to the origins of both the rival systems of colonial enterprise in America and the cultural and political characteristics of an evolving Europe, one may say that religious history includes both, for it was in the pattern of religious development that such things as the state system of Europe and the mercantilist empires of the seventeenth century appeared.

III

Elizabethan England was the source for that vision of empire which led to the establishment of Jamestown and the subsequent history of those colonies out of which was made the United States. From Richard Hakluyt the younger we get the clearest picture of the influences leading to English colonization in the New World, and specifically from his "Discourse on the Western Planting," written for the edification of Queen Elizabeth in 1584 and designed to open the royal purse for support of Sir Walter Raleigh's proposed colony in Virginia. Although the Discourse is of basic importance to any analysis of trade and commerce in the background of colonization, the religious point of view manifest in this advocacy of a "large policy" is by no means a negligible thing. Hakluyt was very much aware of the role played by Spanish missionaries in America, and he was very anxious to make the point that Protestant England had an obligation to fulfill along the same lines. Very aptly he exploited the Spanish friar, Las Casas, to show that the treatment of the aborigines was such that it became the duty of England to provide a better missionary activity. There is here a sense of rivalry, not alone for material advantage, with Catholic Spain, a rivalry as well in demonstrating a proper regard for the expansion of what they still considered to be a "common corps of Christendom." Subsequently the settlement of

Virginia was supported with a degree of religious enthusiasm, and a propaganda campaign to promote the colony that was established at Jamestown in 1607 enlisted the services of the Anglican clergy. Their church was established in America along with the earliest settlers, and when those who survived the harsh conditions of the first decade were to meet in America's first legislative assembly, the Virginia House of Burgesses, it was a church in Jamestown which afforded the place of meeting. The same program that included the extension of a share in government to the settlers, by grant of the Virginia Company in England, included plans for a missionary school for the Indians, a college "for the training up of the Children of those Infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other godly uses." Unfortunately these plans never materialized, and when Virginia got its College of William and Mary in the last decade of the seventeenth century it was not to become a center for missionary work among the Indians.⁶

If Virginia's beginnings cannot be studied without some reference to a religious setting how much more is the importance of religion in the making of Puritan New England. It would seem that the characteristic preoccupation of most popular accounts of the beginnings of New England with the Pilgrims, those rather inoffensive separatists who settled on Cape Cod in 1620, has served to take some of the significant things and hide them away behind the turkeys and pumpkins of the Thanksgiving story. The character of early New England was made by migrating Puritans who came to Massachusetts Bay, starting about a decade after the Mayflower landed the Pilgrims on a desolate shore. Between 1630 and 1640 about 20,000 people — not all of whom stayed in America — began an enterprise conceived along Old Testament lines, one which was designed to establish a base of operations for "true religion." As

⁶The best account of early Virginia is now Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (Louisiana State University Press, 1949).

Morison says in his *Builders of the Bay Colony* these men had primarily a religious motive for all that has been recorded of them in political and economic activity. In England they were associated with a Parliamentary opposition to King Charles, one which wrested from that monarch the assent to the Petition of Right (1628). In America they were to become the ship-builders, merchants, educators, and statesmen of a vigorous colonial society. Their achievements have tended to obscure the basic reason for their becoming empire builders, for if Charles I had not had a French Catholic wife, if his religious policy had not been, in Puritan eyes, "popish," and if he had not given royal support to "heretical" Arminian doctrines, there might not have been Puritan support for constitutionalism in England of that time or any Massachusetts Bay Company with a strong religious purpose. Finally, in coming to America, the Puritans showed no desire to leave behind them for good all matters of religious controversy; on the contrary, what they had in mind was the establishment of a base, not too distant from Europe to be wholly removed from the great religious wars that were raging then, and a position to be exploited for the conquest of this hemisphere.

To be sure, their material achievements were considerable, and the lasting results of the Puritan settlement include political and educational achievements of great importance to the history of the United States, but the point is that they did not come over here with just that in mind. Only religious reasons, and the strategy of what we might call the international Protestant revolution, caused them to commit their resources — a large capital investment as well as their personal safety — in a region which, for twenty years previously, had been notoriously unprofitable for economic enterprise. Moreover, in view of the importance of political changes taking place in England in the seventeenth century, changes which were in great measure the work of Puritans in the mother country, the actual preserva-

tion of those settlements made in and beyond Massachusetts Bay owed a great deal to the religious compatibility of New England's leadership with the military and political rulers of England between 1640 and 1660. If it had been otherwise, if Charles I and Archbishop Laud had been free to take action against those zealots in the new world who had escaped the Court of High Commission in England, there might have been no successful Puritan commonwealths in America. As it happened, even though there developed some significant divergencies between the policies of the English government and those of the authorities in the Bay Colony, the general sympathy of aims and purposes, grounded upon common religious doctrines, enabled the Puritans in America to establish themselves solidly and without interfering controls exercised from abroad.

Please understand that no successful course in the colonial period of American History could be given if only the religious aspects of its history were stressed. We can account for some things in the beginnings of settlement only if we understand the religious motivation involved, but that is not the whole story. Aside from Virginia and Massachusetts already discussed there is some very interesting religious aspect to the founding of each one of the colonies. Maryland owed its existence to the combination of colonizing ambition and religious principles in the person of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. Not only does its history depend much upon the record of English policy towards the adherents of the old religion, it is a history which reveals an interesting experiment in toleration. In an age when the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* was coming into general acceptance it affords an example of a Catholic ruler and a Catholic ruling class risking their own rights and property to a policy of complete toleration of those Protestants who, elsewhere in America as well as back in England, were committed to the rooting out of anything which even resembled "popery." That the experiment succeeded on the whole

and that the proprietary government of Maryland endured through many vicissitudes with the principle of toleration intact until 1689, when a Protestant revolution overthrew it, must be accounted one of the marvels of the seventeenth century. It must be assumed as well to have had some influence on the subsequent history of religious toleration.

IV

Even the most abbreviated survey of the remainder of colonial history must admit of a considerable religious emphasis. Continuing settlement of the North American mainland was affected by the fortunes of Quakers in the British Isles, as English, Welsh, and Irish Friends took an interest in the establishment of overseas settlements in the Jerseys and in Pennsylvania. It was a common radical Protestantism discerned by William Penn in the Low Countries and in the Protestant minorities of the Rhineland, as well as among Quakers of the British Isles, which inspired him with the idea of making his colony of Pennsylvania what we would call a "melting pot" society. Penn had gone abroad as a missionary Quaker to establish contacts with these continental sectarians before he got his grant of a rich area in North America from King Charles II. Also, we ought to note that fundamental changes in religious policy in France and England in the last quarter of the seventeenth century had lasting effects upon the American colonies. The brutal policy of Louis XIV, followed by the revocation of legal toleration of Huguenots in 1685, set loose thousands of French Protestants some of whom came to the English colonies; then his subsequent wars in the Palatinate uprooted more thousands of Germans. The German Protestants were encouraged by the English authorities to accept settlement, some of them in Ireland and more in New York and Pennsylvania. The story of immigration has never been without some interesting religious aspects, and this is particularly true of the first influx of non-English elements into the

colonies. Following upon Quakers from the various parts of the British Isles, and French and German Protestants, the middle of the eighteenth century was to witness a tremendous movement of Irish Presbyterians to this country. These came to America not just because of the economic discrimination against Ireland and its products as practised by the English rulers of that country, but because their religion was a bar to civil and political liberty in their home land.

Religious history enters into the story of eighteenth century America not only on the immigration side — where as a factor it was rivalled only by the contributions of the harsh criminal law and the social conditions in England which produced the indentured servants — it also must be considered as an influence upon empire government and upon the making of a domestic climate of opinion. The Anglican Church exercised jurisdiction over America through the Bishop of London and His Commissaries. A certain amount of tension between the royal government's religious arm and the multiple sects and independent religious establishments here in America provides one of the important bases of estrangement between the colonies and the mother country. Not that the conservative part of the communities outside New England ever looked upon the established Anglican Church as an alien influence; on the contrary they regarded it as a bulwark of order in society. It was rather that where Anglicanism was not established there was fear lest it might be introduced to upset existing church orders, as in New England, and where it was established it was kept weak to a degree that was displeasing to church authorities in England. The prospect of Anglican bishops becoming established in this country was a pleasant one from the English point of view but nowhere in America a popular idea. After that popular stirring of religious fervor we call the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century, the work of Jonathan Edwards, of the Tennants, and of George Whitefield, popular religion and

free church organization became a bar to any imposed hierarchical organization.⁷

V

It was in the Great Awakening that scholars have discerned a decisive change in the emotional climate of America. It had broad social and political consequences, but it was basically a religious movement. The breaking away of "New Light" congregations resulted in some considerable dissatisfaction with any religious establishment by the state, a disposition which would lead to a formulation of separation of church and state as the American way of doing religion a service. Religion became more widespread as a force and as a basis for group organization took on a new significance. Popular preachers showed the way to patriotic orators, like Patrick Henry, and the education of dissenting ministers became the work of new schools and colleges. There was a strong element of democracy in the whole business, a social leveling and a consequent demand for more political rights. From the point of view of religious thought it produced a conservative theological outlook among the masses, while paradoxically it encouraged scepticism among the well to do. Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield left behind them not only the inspired sects which thereafter provided a characteristic American brand of Protestantism, they were responsible for a reaction against emotionalism in religion which led to Deism and Unitarianism.

A final word on the colonial period, which came to an end when religion (as much as anything) had helped to bring about that situation noted by John Adams, an attitude of independence in the "hearts and minds of the American people." Our founding fathers were an educated élite, drawn from a variety of stations in life but for the most part educated in church related schools — Harvard, William and Mary,

Yale, Princeton, and Kings (afterwards Columbia).⁸ They were formed in a tradition that had its beginnings in the trivium and quadrivium of medieval education, and which had as its fruits the cultivation of the mind with particular attention paid to dialectic. The people who founded those institutions were mindful first of all of the religious basis for society. Like many other religious enterprises the by-products have been so spectacular — in this case the education of our first generation of statesmen — as to make us forget that the original purpose was not to serve material interests or even knowledge for its own sake. We are reminded that the right to knowledge was conceived originally as first of all the right to know more about the relation of God to man.

VI

Having devoted so much space to the colonial period of our history it becomes necessary to become truly summary in a treatment of the religious aspects of later American life. In general the main theme remains valid. It is often a primary religious orientation which affects political and social development. A knowledge of the religious history of any period is indispensable to an understanding of what happened. Of course there are great movements which are to be described for what they are, like the formation of the Constitution of the United States, our diplomatic history during and after the War of Independence, the great economic development of the nineteenth century, and the expansion of Americans from the frontier of the Allegheny Mountains to the Pacific Coast. However, there are certain vital issues, the resolution of which had much to do with determining the direction of political and social movements wherein the spiritual and moral attitudes taken by the American people had great significance, all of them associated with one or another trend or conflict which we study in the

⁷One of my Episcopalian students has made an evaluation of the Great Awakening as it affected the Anglican Church in his doctoral dissertation, "The Church of England in the Northern Colonies and the Great Awakening." Mss. in Mullen Library, The Catholic University of America, 1954.

⁸A recent study is *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* by Hofstadter and Metzger (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁹ If it is the reaction of America to the French Revolution, behind the attitude of frustration in New England at an apparent loss of control over national affairs to the South and West there is a strong religious discontent expressive of Puritan piety in its reaction to "infidelism." A generation later the same piety, spread through New York and Ohio by a succession of religious revivals would produce the "anti-slavery impulse" described by Mr. Barnes. Religion was not lacking in the South, and among the causes of the Civil War must be included the divisions of Protestant churches into Northern and Southern branches. The developing conflict of the sections was no mere economic affair but did serve to bring out the dynamite that lay in a conflict of morals between two branches of a religious minded people. Southern piety reinforced rather than moderated the Southern attitude toward the race question, as it would continue to do until well into the twentieth century. Northern piety as interpreted by the Beechers would make issues over slavery where politicians would prefer to bury them, as in Kansas. Truly, no one may ignore religion as a part of the background of the Civil War.

Before the Civil War there were two great actions, the expansion of the United States motivated by the spirit of Manifest Destiny, and the peopling of the country by hordes of immigrants from Ireland and Germany. Neither of these actions was without some religious overtones. Expansion and the war with Mexico stirred the American people in a manner reminiscent of Protestant freebooting in the age of Elizabeth. During the same period the coming of the immigrants, many of them Catholics, brought out latent antagonisms toward Rome and the Catholic religion, ending in a social and political movement to save Protestant America which one writer has called *The Protestant Crusade*.¹⁰ One consequence of this period of Nativism and

anti-Catholic feeling was the shaping of our public school system in such a way as to divorce it from any affiliation with religious groups; another was to reinforce the group consciousness of Irish Catholics, making them less inclined to accept the institutions and social organizations of other Americans because these were considered to be so many snares and booby-traps of Protestant origin.

When we arrive at post-Civil War history there is at least a change in subject matter and a different orientation to justify a different approach. It is not feasible to attempt any religious explanation, or to pose any religious issue, as involved in political reconstruction in the South. Neither is there much point in discussing the financial and agrarian problems of the post-war era as though such problems had their origin in religious causes. A seeming exhaustion of the emotions was one consequence of the Civil War, and the agitators North and South resemble some extinct volcanos. Only when urban development and industrial changes created new problems did there appear to be any restatements of religious purpose in American life. Moreover this was the time when material preoccupations were such that, both in Europe and in America, there was a tendency as never before experienced to divorce the prevailing culture from its religious foundations. Popular religion continued to be popular, but so were the infidelities of Col. Robert J. Ingersoll. Despite the prevalence of revivalists there was a growing disposition to find the fundamental causes of things and of purpose in life in pseudo-scientific theories. Ethics increasingly became divorced from belief; social sanctions were found not in any moral theology but in one or another rationalizations of economic science. Not that all this resulted in any immediate or widespread deterioration of ethics on the part of middle class Americans, but the very conservatism of these Americans in private life seemed to belie the need for organized religion. For a change, reformers who could point to the extending evils of laissez faire in the busi-

⁹See Ralph Gabriel, *Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940).

¹⁰Ray A. Billington, *Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (New York, 1938).

ness world were no longer clergymen or even ex-clergyment, but men with no particular religious orientation like Henry George and Henry Demarest Lloyd. In short America was rapidly moving toward a condition in which even the historians would show some reluctance to appreciate the religious bases of American life on culture, a phenomenon referred to earlier in this article.

One has to refer to the resumption of an interest in world affairs, to the revival of Manifest Destiny in the last decade of the nineteenth century, for some renewal of a sense of religious orientation in American life. Before doing so it might be well at least to mention that our national labor movement was able to surmount something of a religious crisis. American laborers, many of them Catholics, had joined with enthusiasm the Knights of Labor when there appeared, in the 1880's a danger that it would be denounced as a secret society and dangerous to faith and morals. The prevailing acceptance of the social order and its inequalities and frequent injustices by representatives of organized religion would very likely have made any such condemnation popular by putting the Church on the side of what most middle class Americans took to be "law and order." The farsighted ecclesiastical statesmanship and breadth of understanding shown by Cardinal Gibbons prevented a condemnation of the Knights of Labor by Rome.¹¹ The appearance of Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, in 1891, was another indication that the condition of the working classes was not being ignored. Its mixed reception throughout Europe and America was such that this encyclical revealed clearly what should have been obvious before: The Church was doctrinally opposed to the two extreme forms of current materialistic social ethics, laissez faire capitalism and doctrinaire socialism.

The social problem was in competition for public attention with the exciting events of Europe's new imperialist age. Over the decade 1890-1900 the United States became

involved in this movement with a surprising renewal of Manifest Destiny. Professor Pratt, in his *Expansionists of 1898*, has noted the influence of Protestant religious journals in promoting this revival. It was a reversion to type insofar as the old battle cry against Catholic Spain was concerned. The Spanish-American War of 1898 was the last of a series of conflicts which began with the defeat of the Armada of Philip II; but at least one Catholic archbishop, John Ireland of St. Paul, and the Catholic magazine *Ave Maria* joined in support of an expansionist policy and in advocating an imperialist policy in the Philippines. Complementing the idea of a new Manifest Destiny was a quasi-religious emphasis upon the racial destiny of the Anglo-Saxons and Germanic people — otherwise known as the Teutonic people or Aryans. On its domestic side this racial bias was to furnish support for a new nativist movement, the A.P.A., while at the same time it gave support to the movement for restriction of immigration from the eastern and southern parts of Europe. Long after the enthusiasm for imperialism was gone this nativist phobia was to spread rapidly among the non-urban Protestants and perhaps reach its peak of hysteria in the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's.

It would make this article much too long and involve problems of emphasis to carry this survey into the twentieth century. Besides, assessments of religious causes in the past fifty years amount to reflections upon current events. This is not to say, however, that judgments on our own century's religious history may not be of great importance to one's interpretation of other aspects of its history. We are just too much included in what we are talking about to speak historically with any confidence of the religious background of what has taken place. When it is time for a summing up it is quite possible that historians will have to assess the importance of a religious heritage in the western world to the rousing of opposition to Nazi and Communist totalitarianism. It may be that we have been living through an age when traditional be-

¹¹Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, 1949).

lief has been vindicated against pseudo-religions, like Socialism and Positivism. It is very obvious already that the accepted versions of human motivation, popular twenty-five years ago, like the economic interpretation of history or the older idea of racial destiny, have had to be discarded. The surprising phenomenon of Christian Democracy in Europe, and the restoration of religion to a central place in the literature and thought of the age, after an eclipse of a couple of generations, give us some reason for believing that, just as in previous cen-

turies, the hearts and minds of human beings cannot be unaffected by religious belief. In conclusion it might be remarked that our own age has seen a restoration of theology. After completing the gamut of pseudo-religious exercise, of nationalism, of socialist experiment, and rationalizing man's experience in this world on purely sociological lines, there has been a return to considerations of God and history, man and his conscience, nature and grace. But this is relevant to the future even more than it is relevant to the immediate past.

RELIGION IN CURRENT MAGAZINES (Concluded)

THEOLOGY FOR LAYWOMEN: Sister Mary Madelena is founder of the first school of theology for laywomen in U. S., according to *Life* for June 10, '57. This is St. Mary's College, South Bend, Ind. Sister Mary Madelena is also regarded as one of the best living Catholic poets.

PASTOR'S PLAY: The June 10, '57 issue of *Life* also features a review of a play by German pastor Guenther Rutenborn. A short play, "The Sign of Jonah," it was recently produced in New York at Union Theological Seminary.

FAKE MESSIAH: Bernard Postal presents the little-known story of Sabbatai Levi. "The Fake Messiah of Izmir," in *Coronet* for June, '57. In the same issue Albert Schweitzer writes on "Why I Became a Doctor."

EARLY AMERICAN: Two pages of color pictures of early American churches, synagogues, and shrines are displayed in the June '57 *American Legion Magazine*. Titled "America's Religious Roots," the pages are suitable for framing or posting.

RELIGIOUS JOURNALISM: If you occasionally disagree with the editor of your religious journal you will not want to miss Barbara Winne's "Popularity or Prophet" in *The Churchman* for May 15, '57. Editor of *Zions Herald*, she says the prophetic function of religious journalism is the interpretation of current happenings in terms of their moral implications, the testing of issues by standards which are objectively valid. She compares this concept with the fundamentalist journal "with its exclusive concern with 'soul-saving', its insistence on a literal interpretation of the Bible, its antagonism to scientific truth, and above all its lack of interest in religion's social implications."

NEW CURRICULUM: A good summary of improvements in curriculum materials is given in *The Churchman* for June, '57. This concerns the new Seabury Series which workers in religious education, both lay and professional, can well study.

DEAD SEA SCROLLS: Controversies over interpretation and importance of the Qumran scrolls are presented, along with a summary and critique, in *Commentary* for June, '57. Author Stanley E. Hyman contrasts and compares six books about the scrolls representing various points of view—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish.

V

THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN HIGH SCHOOL AMERICAN HISTORY

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FOR DECADES high school students have opened their American history textbooks and seen somewhere among the early pages the figure of a man trudging through a snow-covered forest, the collar of his greatcoat pulled closely about his cheeks and ears as protection from the biting cold of the New England winter. The figure is that of Roger Williams. He has been banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Williams' flight, so the reader is told, has resulted from his controversies with the Puritan clergy. "Divers dangerous opinions," this is the charge the Massachusetts General Court has levied against him.

In theological terms Roger Williams' actions might be described as dissent from orthodoxy. Within an historical context, the episode has come to be viewed as one phase in the development of religious freedom in America. And so, rightly or wrongly, the hero of the piece is the intrepid young dissenter who goes to live for a time with his Indian friends and subsequently establishes a new colony. The villains become the Puritan clergy with their rigid orthodox views.

Much more recently, too recently for textbooks in fact, Americans became familiar with yet another picture. The time: December 4, 1956. The place: a street leading down the hill from the Negro section of Clinton, Tennessee. The central figure: the Rev. Paul W. Turner. In the daily press and on television newsreels this young minister was pictured escorting six Negro children to Clinton High School through a crowd of shouting segregationists. Shortly after leaving the students at their school, the Rev. Turner was attacked and severely beaten by a small group, consisting of seven men and two women. In taking upon himself the responsibility for escorting the

young Negroes, the minister was not acting in behalf of his local congregation nor within the framework of broader church policies. He was acting as a private citizen, carrying out what he presumably regarded as his rightful civic responsibility. To the typical citizen of Clinton, however, the attack was more than simply that of a group upon another citizen. It was an attack upon a "man of God." There had, indeed, been other attacks and harassments in the community. But this was different somehow. Public reaction, as expressed in a local election that very day together with the subsequent course of events in Clinton, amplified the difference. The clergyman was, in fact, personifying another basic element in America's religious tradition, namely, the role of the church in social action.

Here, then, are two incidents separated by more than 300 years of history. The first represents an early stage in what has become a continuing effort to define the nature of religious liberty, the second an episode symbolic of the desire of American churches to play a role in social betterment.

Actually these two themes, and numerous other religious concepts as well, could find some application at any level of classroom instruction. The question here, more particularly, involves the nature of such content in American secondary schools, how can it be applied most appropriately in the instruction of boys and girls who have reached that stage of human development called adolescence.

In all areas of social education, one needs to approach the question of selection of content with considerable humility. The truth is there exists no genuinely empirical basis for the selection of such curricular materials whether the concern is with the study of historical developments or of contempo-

rary social issues. It thus becomes somewhat presumptuous to say with certainty that this or that *shall* be taught. There are, however, helpful guidelines. They are of three broad types. Stated with special reference to the topic under consideration, they are: (1) the nature and needs of the American adolescent; (2) the products of sound scholarship in the area of American religious history; and (3) the system of values which characterizes civilization in America.

I

Before moving into a consideration of specific historical content with its suggestions as to persistent and emerging value patterns, a reminder concerning certain characteristics of adolescence would seem in order. This is the time in the life of the young citizen when he is passing through a transition from the status of a child to the responsibilities of an adult. One of his basic psychological needs is to grow in self-understanding, to see himself more clearly as an individual. This calls for the assessment of personal strengths and liabilities to be sure. But it likewise suggests the adolescent's need for help in developing a system of values, values upon which he can base a concept of desirable behavior and with which he can find an appropriate place in society.

Adolescence is also a stage marked by movement beyond the family orbit into a search for satisfying relationships in the larger community. The unity of religious experience, characteristic of simple family organization, finds replacement in a complex of competing spiritual and sociological phenomena.

Another characteristic of the adolescent, particularly the young adolescent, furnishes a third helpful guide to the selection of religious content. Most students at this age level show strong interest in the activities of people. They seem particularly interested in the study of personalities with whom they can somehow identify themselves. The typical adolescent is a romantic in the true sense of the word. He enjoys accounts of heroic deeds where evil is

ground into defeat, and justice emerges triumphant. In the same vein, he is impressed with accounts depicting loyalty, obedience to the group code.

Inherent in all these traits is the desire of the adolescent to build a more adequate concept of self and improved status with other individuals and social groups. Since religion in some form is so essentially an aspect of American culture, it goes almost without saying that it is a necessary element in the social education of the young citizen.

II

The content of high school American history is dependent on selected threads from our Western heritage. The religious thread is, for purposes of background, a dominant one. It supplies, for instance, value patterns from our Hebraic-Christian tradition, patterns which stem from such venerable pronouncements as the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. The Crusades furnish another element in this Old World background. Embodied in this series of dramatic episodes are strong religious overtones which are a part of the Crusades' general influence on Western history. The Protestant Revolt is yet another strand in the religious thread. Its subsequent influence is not only directly associated with our diverse theologies, but it contributed immediately to national religious rivalries which supplied a considerable portion of the impetus to American discovery and settlement.

Religion was a central theme in the life of the American colonies. So completely did it permeate the thoughts and actions of the people that it becomes difficult to select those emphases which would be most significant to present-day high school students.

In the realm of religious thought the high school student has reached a level of sophistication sufficient to enable him to understand the major tenets of different religious groups. Important groups for study in the early colonial period would be: Calvinism, with such derivatives as Puritanism and Congregationalism; Anglicanism, with its adaptations to New World

Culture; and Catholicism, with its early missionary activities and subsequent promotion of colonial settlement.

A significant adjunct of the early colonial religions is the story of the great champions of religious toleration — Roger Williams, the Separatist; William Penn, the Quaker; and Cecil Calvert, the Catholic.

Religion as a social force is another aspect of the colonial picture. The churches manifested themselves one way in the towns, in a somewhat different way on the frontier. Church groups were a potent force in early efforts to promote universal education. Religious influences were strongly felt in colonial literature and music. And the social impact of religion exhibited itself in a particularly dramatic fashion in the great Awakening of the 1730's and 1740's.

The history of religion in colonial America would be incomplete without attention to the role of certain churches and clergy in the development of revolutionary sentiment. Particularly noteworthy were the dissatisfactions with the Anglican Church the activities of frontier preachers, and such events as the Parson's Cause.

To assess the impact of the Revolution on separate churches might be too limited a task for the typical high school class. The relation of the new states and the national government to religion, however, is another matter. Inexorably, any special position enjoyed by certain church groups was swiftly undermined, and the student of the period finds it necessary to build meaning into such pronouncements as the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786. Here he encounters Thomas Jefferson's pen writing that "Almighty God has created the mind free"; or again that all men should be "free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." The student notes near the end of the original Constitution of 1789 that "No religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States." He notes further in the First Amendment that "Con-

gress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." And, while he may observe in several of the original state constitutions provisions denying the right of public office to such groups as Jews, Catholics, Unitarians, and atheists, he finds that by 1834 the American principle of separation of church and state had been clearly established.

III

Separating religion from governmental structure is one thing. Keeping religion out of politics is quite another. On numerous occasions the student of American history encounters situations in which religious issues are employed to generate heat, if not light, in a political campaign — attacks on Jefferson in 1800, the "rum, Romanism, and rebellion" issue in 1884, and the Smith candidacy in 1928 are but isolated examples. Subjecting such episodes to the bright lamp of analysis furnishes a useful means for striking at bigotry in political life.

Somewhat contemporaneous with the development of the principle of separation of church and state was the growth of Deism, skepticism and heterodoxy as challenges to traditional religious thought. In reaction, however, swelled a powerful evangelical upsurge, carrying with it shades of Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening. This so-called Second Awakening had its principal origins in New England, but it gathered its real force only after making its way across the Appalachian Mountains. The religious fervor and spirit of revivalism, characteristic of this early nineteenth century movement is of considerable consequence in American history. From it emerged in full stature some of the largest of our present-day Protestant churches.

The spirit of individualism so characteristic of the times likewise encouraged the promotion of numerous sectarian groups. It was a religious particularism run rampant, producing everything from Millerites to Shakers to Two-Seed-in-Spirit Predestinarians.

Not to be overlooked in the religious up-

surge was the rise of Catholicism. There were perhaps 30,000 Catholics in the United States in 1790. By 1860 their number had multiplied to more than 3,000,000. Such rapid growth did not pass unnoticed. To some Protestants, even certain notable ones like the Rev. Lyman Beecher, it was a cause for alarm. From it emerge accounts of mob activity, a taste of nativism, and the rather formidable Know-Nothing movement of the 1850's.

IV

At no point in American history did issues relating to religion and morality come more sharply into focus than in the slavery controversy. Few topics illustrate as well the need for a judicious combination of democratic values and sound scholarship in classroom instruction. To the abolitionist the controversy resolved itself into a simple issue of moral good versus moral evil. By contrast, the slave holder came to regard his "peculiar institution" as a positive good, in accord with the laws of God and fully defended in the Scriptures.

But the study of religion and morality in relation to Negro slavery is more than an analysis of polemics. Take the slave himself. He had a religious life of his own, sometimes with a Negro congregation and minister, on occasion in the church of his master. The religion of the Negro today owes a debt to this early instruction. Its influence has, in fact, permeated many facets of American culture, the spiritual being one notable example from the area of music.

As for American churches in general, it was inevitable that they would become involved in a moral issue of such magnitude. A formal protest against slavery was issued by the Quakers as early as 1688. There were, likewise, expressions of opposition by Methodists and Presbyterians in 1812 and 1818 respectively. As the controversy grew in intensity, however, the issues became more difficult to compromise, and schisms developed among church groups. So pronounced were the fractures that it required more than a civil conflict to effect a healing.

Looking at the problem of the Negro in

American society today, who would say that we have fully rationalized the moral issues? Who would argue that the churches have fully met their social responsibilities relating to questions of racial and social segregation? These, too, are rightful questions for students to explore.

V

As the study of American history moves beyond the Civil War, one can suggest with some assurance that religion is usually treated less adequately in the classroom than is the case with the colonial and early national periods. Whatever the reasons for this, and there are many, it would be extremely tenuous to attribute the cause to a weakened moral fiber among the citizenry or to a slackening of interest in spiritual affairs and church organization. There are, nevertheless, religious issues and movements in modern America with which high school students too infrequently have an opportunity to come to grips.

The religion of the pre-Civil War period was predominantly the product of rural cultural patterns. To its simplicity was added great zealotry; but it was also inclined to be overly individualistic and to take an excessively narrow approach to moral and spiritual issues. The machine age, which burst into full flower in the United States in the latter years of the nineteenth century, had its impact on traditional religion as on other aspects of American life. And so was added a complexity to religion that complicates its teaching to adolescents. Where deficiencies occur in the classroom, it is easy to blame the teachers. "They should know their history better," we say. It is interesting to note, however, that the textbook writers have not been inclined to attack the religious issues with vigor either.

Religion in the new industrial America was especially influenced by two movements. One was the growth of science, the other the rise of the city. Any mention of the new science immediately brings to mind the specter of Darwinism. But, if a Mark Hopkins denounced the theory of evolution as "atheistic," a Henry Ward

Beecher could be happy with it as a substitute for his Calvinism. And, for that matter, if the teacher were sufficiently alert, students' attention might be directed to recent studies which raise serious questions with Darwinian theories, particularly those relating to the essential nature of man and other animals. In any event, the scientific activity of the latter nineteenth century was instrumental in the development of the conflict between "modernism" and "fundamentalism." It is equally appropriate for students to develop an understanding of these differing points of view in religion as to grapple with conflicting issues which arise in the social, political, and economic realms.

Post-Civil War America was enriched and diversified by the influx of millions of immigrants who came to these shores and contributed immensely to the development of an industrialized society. In their baggage was more than latent mechanical skill and a willingness to work. These new arrivals also brought a deep religious heritage. Most of the newcomers were of the Catholic or Jewish faith, although a considerable number of Lutherans did come from the Scandinavian countries. If the typical American of an earlier day could regard himself as Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, the modern American could not be so readily generalized. The new America was richer for it, but, by the same token, its intercultural problems were magnified. Acculturation, nevertheless, proceeded with considerable rapidity. To the special credit of such outstanding churchmen as Cardinal Gibbons and Rabbi Wise, the new arrivals were soon fitted snugly into the main stream of American society.

The Protestant churches were also on the move and growing. W. W. Sweet reminds us of a song the Methodists used to sing in response to the agnostics of the time:

The infidel, a motley band,
In council met and said:
"The churches die all through the land,
The last will soon be dead."
When suddenly a message came,

It filled them with dismay:
"All hail the power of Jesus's name!
We're building two a day."

It might be observed, parenthetically, that the closing lines of the song could well be resurrected and used in the 1950's.

The old-time Protestant evangelism continued to carry a strong appeal even in what was regarded as a more sophisticated age. From Dwight L. Moody to Billy Sunday to Billy Graham evangelism has kept its headlines and has also continued to operate more modestly in the vineyards.

It would scarcely appear within the province of a high school history class to attempt a resolution of the theological dilemma of faith versus works. It would seem sufficient to observe that religious-minded Americans have been inclined to work both sides of this street. In modern America the issue does seem to have been more sharply drawn at times, however, because of the many opportunities for men to be their brothers' keepers. The new social gospel, for instance, did appear to be in conflict with the tenets of traditional Protestantism. But, then, how could the churches afford to ignore the existence of slums, poverty, and other types of social depression? The fact is, of course, that America's social ills did not go unnoticed. The story is one that boys and girls should come to know better. And the account should include in addition to the work of older churches, the activities of the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., and other newer welfare groups.

Recent history also includes accounts of groups that have for good or ill, used religion to further their special ends. It might be a Women's Christian Temperance Union or again a Ku Klux Klan. To study and understand such groups and their varied purposes is also a desirable activity for the history student.

The hope of American history in the schools is that, through its study, young Americans will become better democratic citizens. This is the basic purpose. Citizenship and morality are associated ideas. For the young citizen the study of religion as a phase of American history can be one

means of developing his own set of moral anchors. True, such study as a phase of the school curriculum is related substantially to secular morality. And, admittedly, there are those who regard this as half a loaf at best. On this point, however, we should perhaps remind ourselves that the family and the church are both major social institutions affecting the lives of young people. They too have significant roles to play in the development of morality, roles that fit their special functions.

Tolerance can be another outcome of the study of religion. This is, in effect, an intercultural purpose for the inclusion of religious study in the history program. Involved in such a purpose is an understanding and appreciation of the rich diversity of religious life in American civilization.

Finally, the study of religion can help the young citizen find clearer paths to an understanding of himself and those with whom he must associate. During the school years, it is a question of his seeing himself in relation to his family and to associates in his immediate community. The ultimate hope is that he is building a body of understandings, social skills, and desirable values that will hold him in good stead as he moves toward more distant horizons.

VI

Conclusions

1. Religion is, by fact and tradition, so essentially an aspect of American culture that its study becomes a necessary element in the social education of the American adolescent.

2. Religious content in high school American history should be selected on the basis of sound historical scholarship, democratic values, and the needs of adolescent.

3. While cognizant of the lack of a

genuinely empirical basis for the selection of curriculum content, the following areas or topics in American religious history would appear to be appropriate at the secondary level:

- a. the contributions of Western heritage to religion in America;
- b. religious traditions and institutions that are the product of developments during the colonial period;
- c. political bases for the establishment of the principle of separation of church and state;
- d. religion as an issue in politics;
- e. religious awakening and church expansion during the first half of the nineteenth century;
- f. religious issues and church policy in the slavery controversy;
- g. the growth of science in modern America and its challenge to the doctrine of faith;
- h. the increasing diversity of American religion resulting from the New Immigration and other influences;
- i. the rise of the city and the concomitant development of the social gospel;
- j. the growth of church organization in modern America;
- k. the use of religion by interest groups to further their special ends;
- l. the persistence of evangelism as a phase of religious activity.

4. The study of religion is an aspect of citizenship education. It can help the adolescent build his own set of moral anchors, broaden his perception of tolerance, and develop a more adequate concept of self. Such study, however, is not the special province of the school. Compelling responsibilities for the development of moral and spiritual values, rest with the family, the church, and indeed with the community at large.

VI

SOME RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE FIRST children who learned American history, apart from formal study to be sure, must have been those at the Spanish Court who heard firsthand of Columbus' voyages; and later, the boys and girls of London or Plymouth or Jamestown who were actually making that history. For many generations afterward, the twice-told tales of America's beginnings were heard at the family hearth rather than on the hard school benches. It was not until 1787 that a text book was written by John McCollough of Philadelphia for secondary-school "scholars."¹ Over a hundred years later an organized plan for the study of American history in elementary schools was initiated, although it was being taught in most schools by that time.²

Since then textbooks and courses of study have been subjected periodically to the scrutiny of teachers, historians and the public. Their respective recommendations have brought some notable changes, if not improvements, in the study and teaching of American history.³

Responsibility for the greatest change, of course, lies with the growth of history itself. Year by year, volume by volume, the story of our nation has developed in content and interpretation to the distress of the writers of children's texts, the course-makers, and the teachers.

¹Cited in Henry Johnson, *The Teaching of History* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1940), p. 42. A 1795 text by the same author went into four editions. The fourth edition, consulted by the writer, is entitled *A Concise History of the United States from the Discovery of America Till 1813*.

²Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³These changes are described briefly in Johnson, Ch. 3.

The Content of Elementary American History

In 1944 the American Historical Association, together with associated historical groups, published a succinct report on the teaching of American history from the elementary grades through college.⁴ The report included proposals for the grade placement of important topics, and a list of minimum requirements at each level. Many public and private school systems have followed the lead of the Association and further developed its proposals. There is no place here to analyze current elementary courses of study in American history. A sampling of recent courses on file at the United States Office of Education, however, reveals a rather widespread study of the following topics in grades one through six:

In the Primary Grades (1, 2 and 3):

History is introduced through a simple contrast between the present and the past. Topics may include, for example:

"Our Neighborhood Today and Long Ago"

"How the Indians Lived"

"When People First Came to Our Town"

Holidays, such as Thanksgiving, Washington's Birthday and Memorial Day, afford opportunity to introduce major historical figures and the events with which they were linked.⁵

Introductory references to American history are only a part of the social studies program of the lower grades, which usually includes a simple study of contemporary liv-

⁴American Historical Association, *American History in Schools and Colleges* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

⁵Frequently these are studied by younger children through such picture-story books as those by Ingri and Edgar D'Aulaire, on Washington, Lincoln, and other historical figures.

ing in home, school neighborhood and community. This pre-history, as one may call it, deals with the human elements found in all history; among them, the individual's role in society; his obligations to the common good; the place of law and of rules in group living. Emphasis on these elements in the present helps children to seek them in the story of the past. It also helps to avoid the censure of Salzmann:

"History, as it is ordinarily taught, lifts the pupil out of the society of the living and places him in the society of the dead."⁶

In the Middle Grades (4, 5 and 6):

Children of the middle grades, while developing skill in reading, are given special help in learning how to study, to outline, to organize material, and see simple relationships. A sense of chronology begins to be evident — but not nearly so evident as some ambitious course-makers and examiners would imply. Historical content usually deals with the following:

Exploration and settlement of our nation.
Life in the colonies.
The beginnings of our Republic.
The westward movement and pioneer life.
Map study related to these periods.
The story of representative persons in later American history.

Certain school systems add special study of their respective States, and some introduce major events of recent American history. For the most part, however, courses and textbooks agree with the suggestion of the American Historical Association report:

"Here the emphasis is to be on the periods of exploration and colonial history and on the simpler patterns of life in the pre-industrial era."⁷

In accord with this suggestion, most illustrations of elementary American history in this article will be drawn from the earlier period of our history.

Characteristics of History for Children

No matter what variations may occur in the content of American history for chil-

dren, there are constant factors which relate to childhood and a child's manner of learning. Among them are these:

1. The course must be *selective*. The limits of the child's mind, and of time itself, allow coverage of only the most outstanding features of our history.
2. *People* should be emphasized, against the background of important events and movements.
3. Historical facts and ideas should be related to living in the *present*. "From known to unknown" is a rule in learning.
4. There is no place in children's history for "debunking." One of the rights of childhood is an *idealism* that history can serve without betraying truth.
5. Historical *accuracy*, sometimes neglected by a false notion of the child's limitations, should be adhered to with care.

Each of these factors is pertinent to the study of religious elements in American history, as it is to all phases of the subject. Each one also poses problems which, in relation to the study of religion, are perhaps more difficult than in any other area.

Limitations Applicable to All Subjects

We are reminded by Samson in *Don Quixote* that

"The poet can relate or sing of things not as they really were, but as they ought to have been, and the historian writes things not as they ought to have been but as they were, neither adding to the truth nor subtracting from it a single iota."⁸

If this is true of any historian, it is far more so of the teacher of history as she presents religious facts, among others, in the public school classroom. Even one who is fully aware of her responsibility to do so objectively, and is fully prepared to do so, meets with discouraging but necessary limitations. First are the restrictions imposed by the policy of the local or State school system; a policy which may or may not be

⁶Quoted in Johnson, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

⁷The Association, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

⁸*Don Quixote*, Part II, Ch. 3.

explicitly stated. The board of education, in turn, has its own reasons for defining or leaving ill-defined the place of religious teaching in the school. The principal, being human, will add at least some subjective notes to the policy.

In the class itself the teacher may view the problem statistically. For example, she may know quite certainly of these religious affiliations in her sixth-grade class of thirty:

- 11 Children from Lutheran families
- 4 who attended the Jewish synagogue school
- 5 Italian Catholics; one of them a refugee
- 2 Disciples of Christ
- 3 Presbyterians; one, the daughter of a minister
- 4 of uncertain religious affiliation
- 1 whose parents differ openly on religious questions

Each child in this class represents a family; each family a composite point of view, a degree of religious practice or non-participation, a more or less clear idea of the role of the public school and its fixed limits. The parents of each share more or less consciously in that parental authority over education which our nation upholds.

These factors form a maze of limitations upon the teacher's approach to delicate religious issues; but these are not all. Her sound judgment, her choice and presentation of material, will be tried before a severe court: a class of inquiring minds. These inquiring minds present the most severely limiting factor of all, which is actually protected by all the others: each child's freedom of conscience.

This is the heart of the problem. In any kind of school whatsoever the teacher must by her profession respect and protect the conscience of each pupil in her care. Here is the limit beyond which the zeal even of an apostle may not go:

"We are not able to impose truth. Faith cannot be imposed. . . . Above all, let no one imagine that the Church, in exhorting Chris-

tians to become apostles, wishes to start them on the path to oppression of conscience."⁹

The teacher in the public school who, professionally speaking, represents no religion, is bound to refrain scrupulously from imposing any truths which would disturb the conscience of a child. Interference would be an injustice not only to the child but to parents and religious leaders who rightly retain for themselves the responsibility for helping him form that "pulse of reason," as Coleridge calls it, which we term *conscience*.

Hedged about by these restrictions, is it still possible for the teacher of elementary American history to "provide for the factual study of religion" in an acceptable manner? According to the Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council, religion can and should be studied,

"... not as something on which the American public school must settle all arguments and say the last word, but as something which is so much a part of the American heritage and so relevant to contemporary values that it cannot be ignored."¹⁰

Can this be done in the American history class of the public elementary school? Possibilities lie within two dimensions:

1. Events or movements in American history, suitable for children's study, which have had unquestioned religious aspects.
2. Persons of historical importance who in some way brought a religious element into the story of our nation.

Examples of the first class, which will be detailed below, include the Puritan influence on New England and the nation; the work of the Spanish missions; the Judaeo-

⁹Cardinal Gerlier of Toulouse, in a 1956 address. Quoted in the *Davenport Messenger*, January 17, 1957. Archbishop John Ireland in 1913 stated the same position; "Personal conscience is the ultimate asylum of the soul, in presence of civil or ecclesiastical society. Both Americanism and Catholicism bow to the sway of personal conscience."

¹⁰Committee on Religion and Education of the American Council on Education, *The Function of Public Schools in Dealing with Religion*, (Washington, D. C.: The Council, 1953), p. 7

Christian principles evident in the Declaration of Independence.

The second type of factual study of religion in American history is more difficult. Who can judge accurately the religious motivation or ideals of an historical character? How can the lay interpreter of history appraise a character about whom historians disagree? Having attempted to do so in broad terms, how can the teacher present this historical person in the clear-cut image of a hero? Some approaches to this problem may be exemplified in Christopher Columbus, Abraham Lincoln, and George Washington Carver.

Examples of both types will be given in chronological order.

Christopher Columbus

The first American history textbook tells its readers that the crew of the Pinta, on sighting land, "instantly began the *Te Deum* as a hymn of thanksgiving to God." Landing, they "returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue."¹¹ Nearly all public-school texts since that time have featured the thanksgiving of Columbus and his men, even though they may not refer by name to the *Te Deum*. Some have mentioned the singing of the Salve Regina. Most have emphasized the fact, recorded in the Admiral's Journal, that Columbus and his men prayed while on their voyage, knowing that "their ship depended for safety not only on her staunchness and their own skill, but on the grace of God."¹² For younger children this is the only religious fact that need be given in relation to Columbus Day.

Older children, especially in the fifth and sixth grades where historical ties between Europe and America are studied, can appreciate the significance of the *Te Deum* itself in American history. The first prayer of thanks offered by men from Europe, it was the vanguard of western culture, the first spiritual gift brought from the old world to the New. It had been sung in

Europe for more than a thousand years before Columbus set sail. Credited to Augustine, a native of Africa, it was written in the Latin language and had its poetic and religious antecedents in Hebrew psalmody.¹³

Although these facts are of interest to sixth-graders, and in keeping with their level of understanding, they should not be overemphasized to the detriment of historical balance. Yet, other major events have often been remembered best by words associated with them. Morse's message, "What hath God wrought?" and Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" are two examples. That the ideas of the Old World entered the New with the first public recital of the ancient prayer, "We praise Thee, Oh God!" is intrinsic to the historic occasion.

Children usually know that Columbus' ships carried new cargo to and from Spain, thus inaugurating America's economic history. They know that the Admiral carried in his person the authority to claim new lands for Spain, thus inaugurating the political history of the Americas. But they should know also that the cultural history of the American nations began with Columbus. His ships brought the Spanish language, a share of European knowledge of that day, and a faith and liturgy which have had an uninterrupted role in the history of the western hemisphere.

Three religious facts, then, may be taught concerning Columbus:

1. He and his men prayed during the voyage, for protection and as a religious duty.
2. Their first act on reaching land was to thank God.
3. Their hymn of thanks, the *Te Deum*, was the first gift of Old World culture brought to our shores.

¹³The canticle attributed to Augustine and Ambrose in the fourth century resembles in cosmic vision, in gratitude, exuberance, and even in repetitive phrasing, David's psalms of praise. Set into it is Isaiah's "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." Even the Gregorian chant in which it was sung had developed from the psalm tones of Israel. See A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1944), p. 47.

¹¹McCullough, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹²Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1942), p. 167.

There need be no laboring of religious motivation, of missionary purposes, of the virtues of Columbus. These are too difficult to judge and present to children.

The Pilgrims and Puritans

The yearly recurrence of Thanksgiving Day on the school calendar makes the story of the Pilgrims a standard introduction of younger children to English colonization. The story is also inseparable from the factual study of religion. First, there is the principle of freedom of conscience and of worship which, if it was not the sole motive of every Pilgrim, was certainly dominant in the desire to emigrate. Secondly, there is the fact that on the Mayflower the passengers (with noted exceptions among the crew) prayed. Like Columbus' men, they asked God for protection and prayed as a daily duty to their Creator. Finally, the Pilgrims combined in their Thanksgiving feast a very human celebration of the harvest with public thanks to God, not forgetting at the feast those Indians who had befriended them. These are religious facts generally taught in all schools to younger children. At the middle-grade level, children can understand that whereas the Pilgrims' story is one of a single event and a small colony, that of the Puritans pertains to a whole movement, having as its source religious ideas which influenced certain aspects of New England and American life.

History in the middle grades frequently centers about areas of *living*, describing the home life, work and culture in a certain segment of our people at a given time. New England colonial life lends itself admirably to this type of study, through which the religious *motif* may be presented. Concerning the Puritan religion one might select for children the following ideas:

1. The Puritans thought of themselves as a Chosen People, going forth like the people of Israel to carry out God's Covenant, or agreement, with them.
2. They aimed to "purify" the religious practices of the Church of England from the "vain worship" which made use of art, music and sacred signs

(the sacramental idea) to convey spiritual truths by means of material things.

3. The religion of the Puritans urged them to strictness in keeping the Law; respect for the dignity of each person (provided he abided by Puritan doctrine); a firm belief that "God gives all things to industry," and that "an idle man is a Burden to himself, to his Family, and to the Publick."¹⁴

Many concrete examples of Puritan religious culture can be found by children in the daily life of early New England: schooling in the Horn Book and New England Catechism, by which one learned to read in order to know the scripture; discouragement of frivolity and worldliness in clothing and recreation; the severity of Sunday, with its long sermons and stern rules, as contrasted with Merrie England's dancing on the village green. Yet none of these should be exaggerated.¹⁵ Neither should children fail to see that there were links between New England and Europe, even pre-Reformation Europe, which had not been broken. While worshipping God from the Bay Psalm Book, for example, they were using the same psalms that had been and were being sung throughout Christendom.¹⁶

To the secondary school can be left such facts as the development of Calvinism in England; intolerance and factions of Puritanism; concept of a theocratic government,

¹⁴Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, Second edition, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951), p. 35.

¹⁵Works like those of Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947 and George Waller, editor), *Puritanism in Early America* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1950) counteract the exaggerations of Puritanism which are often given as factual.

¹⁶The whole Bible, in fact, was their inheritance from the "long past": from the Scriptures of the Hebrews, the Latin translation of Jerome, the copies made and kept by monastic scribes; more recently from Gutenberg, whose typesetting had initiated the widespread distribution of the Word of God; and from the various translators of the Bible into the vernacular.

or Bible State;¹⁷ the prevalence of a Presbyterian sense of duty and of order in society, together with Congregationalist emphasis upon assemblies and covenants of the people. It is enough that middle grade children identify the Puritan religion with New England's beginnings, and these in turn with the forming of our national culture and democratic government.

The Spanish Missions

To children it is obvious that the Spanish missions of California¹⁸ represented a type of religious society different from that of the Pilgrims. The latter came to America to preserve what they believed in conscience to be the true way of serving God. Missionaries like Junipero Serra came to share their faith with the Indian natives, working under and with Spanish Crown. A number of religious facts which belong to American history may be learned by children concerning the Spanish missions:

1. Religious motives — love of God and of fellow men — led the missionaries to accompany Spanish soldiers into California and establish Christian settlements for the Indians.
2. Life in the missions was a combination of Spanish and Indian culture, centered about the church.
3. The psalmody that was unadorned and unaccompanied in Massachusetts meeting houses¹⁹ was sung in California amid the liturgical splendor of the Mass and Vespers. The churches themselves, built by the Indians in Spanish style, were ornamented with Indian symbolism and craftsmanship.
4. Education of the Indians was a part of the apostolate. Their schooling in-

cluded, Christian Doctrine, the Spanish language and their own, agriculture and other vocational training, singing and art, instrumental music and even dancing.²⁰

Since the motive of the friars was to convert the Indians from paganism to Christianity, their intent was to impose the Spanish language and customs no more than was necessary to the large purpose; and further, to keep all Indian customs that were worthy of being a part of Christian living.²¹ From this religious fact children can understand, to some degree, the paradox of present-day Indians in the Southwest who, in areas where the missions were discontinued, combine pagan superstitions with some Christian practices and more or less adherence to Christian teachings.

Without denying the harshness of Spanish conquerors and the imperialism of their rulers, it is possible to show children how these were ameliorated, and often courageously opposed, by friars like Junipero Serra. To self-interest they opposed total service. They challenged greed by voluntary poverty. To the extravagant frivolities of certain Spanish colonials they opposed the simplicity of family life in the missions.

Although it is true that the Spanish settlements have influenced our history only in a limited region, the missionary ideal of which they were the first example has never been absent from our nation's story. The idea that the best gift one can bring to others is faith in God led missionaries to accompany, to follow, and sometimes to precede the explorers and settlers. There were missionaries to the Indians; to the first frontier; to the Louisiana Territory; to the Middle Border; to the far Northwest. When the nation reached its last frontier, and be-

¹⁷Given varying names by historians, the New England system of government is described preferentially by Wertenbaker (*op.cit.*, p. vii) as a Puritan oligarchy, or Bible State.

¹⁸Although the missions played a significant role in the whole Southwest, those in California are usually given as an example of all, in elementary textbooks. Junipero Serra, the Franciscan who founded the missions along El Camino Real, is usually featured in the texts.

¹⁹Wertenbaker, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

²⁰See Herbert Bolton, *Wider Horizons of American History* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), Ch. III, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies." Detailed description of the work of the missions is given in Pius Barth, *Franciscan Education and the Social Order*. (Chicago, 1950).

²¹Barth, *op.cit.*, p. 298, states that the Friars introduced the Spanish language at the request of the Government, and with some reluctance.

gan to take increasing interest in world affairs, missionary zeal led Americans to other lands, as it had brought the first missionaries to our own.

Declaration of Independence

From the maze of current interpretations of the Declaration of Independence, of each Founding Father and all of them collectively, we can select for children's study one unchallenged fact: the first Americans determined to be free to govern themselves, and took up arms to gain this freedom.²² But they justified their actions by religious declarations which they said that reason could not deny, because they were self-evident truths:

1. That all men are created equal, and
2. That all are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights. These ideas are at once simple enough for children to understand, and so profound that they influence our entire philosophy of government. They are in effect a declaration of dependence on God, and of human rights, inalienable because they are God-given.

Studying these American principles, children may learn in how many ways our nation acknowledges officially its dependence on God. For example:

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Studying these American principles, children may learn in how many ways our nation acknowledges officially its dependence on God. For example:

1. The motto, "In God We Trust."
2. Our custom, since Washington, of

taking an oath on entrance to public office.

3. The opening of Congress with prayer.
4. Presidential proclamations of Thanksgiving, and other references in public address to our reliance on Providence, our need for God's help, our need to pray.

The meaning of rights — and of corresponding duties — is understandable to children, who see them exercised by themselves and others in daily group living. It should not be difficult for them to realize, as did the first citizens of our Republic, that the only inalienable rights are those which come from God; that rights given by a State can be taken away by the same. They ought to see that a godless government will be ruthless of men's rights, which have no divine source or guarantee in that type of political economy.²³

In contrast to that totalitarianism which the Declaration of Independence condemns by its philosophy, and to link the Declaration with present-day Americanism, children might study such recent statements as the following by President Eisenhower:

"We are one nation, gifted by God with the reason and the will to govern ourselves, and returning thanks to Him by respecting His supreme creation — the free individual."²⁴

The question of sources from which the ideas in the Declaration of Independence came is not a subject for children's study. The claims of Tom Paine, Locke, the Enlightenment and Deism are for mature students to judge. Thomas Jefferson himself stated that the ideas in the Declaration were "an expression of the American mind."²⁵ Furthermore, the American mind on democracy was formed upon the concept of man in our Judaeo-Christian heritage:

²³A clear explanation for children is given in Mabel Casner and Ralph Gabriel, *The Story of American Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Company, 1955), p. 169.

²⁴*New York Times*, September 22, 1953.

²⁵Quoted by Perry, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

²²Cf. Ralph Barton Perry on "The Declaration of Independence," in Earl Latham, ed., *The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949), p. 79 ff.

"What is man that thou art mindful of him
or the son of man that thou visitest him?"

Thou hast made him a little less than the
angels,
Thou hast crowned him with glory and
honor,
And hast set him over the works of thy
hands."

—Psalm 8

Abraham Lincoln

One way to introduce pertinent religious facts in American history, as has been said, is through representative men who in some way brought a religious element into our history. Abraham Lincoln is an admittedly controversial example. History denies that Lincoln was a regular church member, or adhered to any creed. Yet he wrote and spoke some of the stirring words of national history in which God is publicly acknowledged.²⁶ The words were not empty or hypocritical. Lincoln's honesty and sincerity were affirmed by both friends and enemies. His private letters and conversations revealed his reliance on God, his desire to do His Will, a trust in His providence, his love for the Bible. Men and women of his own time and countless historians afterward have borne witness to the religious character of Lincoln.

For children, who invariably respond to the moral force in Lincoln's character, selections from his public statements will speak for themselves:

1. From the Farewell Speech at Springfield, 1861:

"Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him (George Washington), I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. . . . To his care commending you, as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell."²⁷

2. The opening passage of his first message to Congress, 1861:

"In the midst of unprecedented political troubles, we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health, and most abundant harvests."²⁸

3. From the first presidential proclamation of Thanksgiving Day, 1863:
After recounting the blessings of the "ever watchful providence of Almighty God" Lincoln says:

"They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy. It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently and gratefully acknowledge as with one heart and one voice by the whole of the American People."²⁹

4. To a group who serenaded the president on the evening of a victory:

"God bless the soldiers and seamen, with all their brave commanders."³⁰

Without doubt, the second Inaugural Address is one of the finest examples of a religious man thinking aloud in the presence of the nation. Lincoln himself wrote privately,

"Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them. To deny it, however, in this case, is to deny that there is a God governing the world."³¹

Yet, the very profundity of Lincoln's thought in this address makes it difficult to present to children of the middle grades. Also, the military and political ramifications of the address are not usually a part of history at this level. These same factors affect the choice of other quotations from Lincoln. Perhaps it is enough to point out that Lincoln the President, in both words and action, exemplified in public office the dual principles of the Declaration of Inde-

²⁶An early judgment of Lincoln's religion was given by Lord Charnwood in his *Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917), p. 439 ff. A recent summary of such judgments is found in Randall, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, *The Last Full Measure*, 1955, Chapter XVI, "God's Man."

²⁷Roy Basler, *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1946), p. 568.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 616.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 728.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 761.

³¹Paul Angle, editor, *The Living Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 640.

pendence: our dependence on God and our belief in the dignity and equality of all men.

The rights and duties deriving from human dignity were defended in practice as well as speech by Lincoln, "as God gave him to see the right." Examples include his life-long condemnation of slavery as a moral evil; his presidential defense, nevertheless, of southern property rights *as such*, that could only be abrogated by an act of war; his personal sense of duty as the leader of the nation, responsible for the welfare of all citizens; his profession of belief in the divinely-given human rights of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Lincoln said that his knowledge of right and wrong was learned from the Bible. He frequently showed that his sharp sense of morality had a religious foundation.

George Washington Carver

One of the most interesting figures in our history is George Washington Carver. Neither a political nor a military personage, he exemplifies the cultural leadership which is at least as influential in American history as the presidential terms and wars by which we tend to mark its course. Born at a time when science began to walk with secularism, Carver was a scientist "through whose delicate fingers God all but instantly transformed everyday objects into a thousand products."³² By his careful study of plants, seeking to know "what the Creator made them for" he initiated a revolution in the agriculture of the South. Recognized as a genius by Negro and white alike, he was a symbol of hope to his people. Born in slavery, virtually self-educated until he entered college at the age of thirty, he spent the rest of his life in devoted service to others.

Children of the middle grades will find that the life of George Washington Carver was one of close relationship to God. These

are some points that his biographers emphasize:³³

1. He saw his own life and work as a part of God's plan, and prayed at every step to know the details of this plan, and carry them out.
2. His reverence for the Creator extended to all creatures, ranging from man to the humblest weed.
3. He looked upon time, and all creatures, as gifts that had a definite use and should not be wasted. On this principle he worked untiringly with lowly plants and discarded objects to produce "over half a hundred creations, any one of which would have honored the most elaborately equipped laboratory of our greatest universities."³⁴
4. In his attachment to God and His creation, he was detached from a desire for money or men's gifts.
5. In his understanding of the greatness of God he saw his own smallness, and at the same time his own powers to "work hand in hand with the Creator."
6. He overcame bigotry, with which he was frequently confronted since childhood, by an all-embracing charity.

George Washington Carver should be known first for his scientific contributions to our nation, and secondly because, as Henry Wallace said of him,

"To the world he was known as a scientist. Those who knew him best, however, realize his outstanding characteristic was a strong feeling of the eminence of God."³⁵

Religious facts are so integral a part of Carver's life that a children's biography of him (of which there are several excellent titles) needs no teacher's commentary. Its readers cannot fail to see, in addition to the religious character of Carver, that the unjust treatment of the Negro, while it may occasion his practice of patience and

³²O. D. Foster, quoted in Shirley Graham and George D. Lipscomb, *Dr. George Washington Carver, Scientist* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1944), p. vi.

³³A popular adult biography is Rackham Holt, *George Washington Carver* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1944).

³⁴Foster, *loc. cit.*

³⁵Graham and Lipscomb, *op. cit.*, p. v.

other virtues, is itself inexcusable on the part of anyone who calls himself religious.

The examples given in this paper were chosen from among many possible ones: persons like George Washington, Isaac Joques, William Penn, Marcus Whitman, Robert E. Lee; movements like the Quaker impetus to reform, and the religious background of the anti-slavery movement. Yet any examples would illustrate the fact that the best setting for the factual study of religion is cultural history, with its emphasis upon the American people and their ideas and ideals. When military, political or economic history is overstressed, it is difficult to introduce religious facts suitable for children's study.

In the class room where religious facts are to be learned, one inescapable condition must prevail. This is the habit of *reverence* in both teacher and pupil. "Reverence is the mother of all virtues." Certainly, it is the mother of all learning unto wisdom. The reverent mind sees beauty and potentiality in material things. It sees "the measure of man" in all persons. It gives homage to God as Creator and Father of all. Religious facts will be learned well in a class where reverence is cultivated. And this habit of mind will discover a kind of sacredness in all truth and all learning.

Conclusions

Assuming the thorough preparation of the teacher of American history, and her use of good teaching materials, the following conclusions are offered:

1. Teaching religious facts in American history to public school pupils is admittedly difficult, but it can be done. In fact, it

must be done to teach history validly, for certain religious facts are inseparable from it.

2. The difficulties are chiefly these:

a. The content of American history in grades 1-6 is restricted, for the most part, to discovery, exploration, colonial life, the birth of the nation, the westward movement. Some representative persons of the entire span of our history are studied.

b. In public schools, religious teaching must be limited. These limitations are imposed by law, by policy of the system and school, by parental convictions; but most important, by each pupil's freedom of conscience, which must be respected.

c. History for children must be accurate, yet uphold ideals. It should be selective, but balanced. It should relate the past to the present. These requirements apply to teachers of religious facts as well as others.

3. The possibilities are chiefly two:

a. Events or movements in American history which have had unquestioned religious aspects. For example: the Puritans, Spanish missions, Declaration of Independence.

b. Persons of historical importance who in some way brought a religious element into the story of our nation. For example: Columbus, Lincoln, George Washington Carver.

4. Cultural history forms a natural setting for the teaching of religious facts which are an integral part of the nation's story. Over-emphasis on military and political aspects ought to be avoided.

5. A pre-requisite for both teacher and pupils in the teaching of religious facts is reverence for God, for all persons, for things.

VII

THE NEXT DECADE OF RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION RELATING TO RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

Eugene E. Dawson

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I

THOSE OF you who have been identified with research activities or who have at least become sensitive to the variegated elements of research, must understand something of the hesitancy and concern with which an assignment such as this is approached. This is so much more the case when the subject to be considered is within the context of religion in public education, and when those who have been commissioned to serve as critics are among the most impressive on the current scene. Perhaps the writer should take new courage in this, however, for surely you have cultivated the fine art of being charitable and tolerant and will overlook no opportunity to make substantial modifications when required.

Speaking of research, the writer is reminded of the words of C. F. Kettering, who, as the top research man for General Motors, had this to say: "Research is a high-hat word that scares a lot of people. It needn't. It is rather simple. Essentially, it is nothing but a state of mind, a friendly, welcoming attitude toward change going out to look for change, instead of waiting for it to come. Research, for practical men, is an effort to do things better and not to be caught asleep at the switch. The research state of mind can apply to anything — Personnel affairs or any kind of business, big or little. It is the problem-solving mind as contrasted with the let-well-enough-alone mind. It is the composer mind, instead of the fiddler mind; it is the 'tomorrow' mind, instead of the 'yesterday' mind."

Would you not agree that one of the heartening inclinations at present is the disposition on the part of a larger number of

people, in ventilating the problem of religion in public education, to aspire to the kind of climate depicted in these lines? It would be to underestimate the complexity of the problem to indicate that there are easy answers or simple solutions, but it does appear that people have a readiness to commit themselves to needed and healthy exploration and experimentation in this area. All of us would no doubt agree that there is an urgent need to develop a more critical and evaluative understanding toward the problems and possibilities in relating religion to public education.

To go immediately to the assignment at hand, the writer should like, at the outset, to focus attention on the area frequently described as the "factual study" of religion, or the "teaching about" religion approach, or again what is sometimes referred to as an attempt to teach the reciprocal relationship of religion to other elements in human culture, or still further, as an effort to deal with religious references in the curriculum as and when intrinsic to the study of subject matter. It will be recognized that such procedures were, in general, represented in the earlier inquiries and recommendations of the American Council on Education and are currently being given consideration by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, as well as by other agencies and school personnel. I would venture to state that during the next decade there should be and will be an extended interest in considering the possibilities and limitations embodied in this particular approach.

In view of this likelihood, I am inclined to think that one of the initial undertakings

should be that of ascertaining as conclusively as possible the current status of the factual study of religion and about religion in our public schools. In traveling about the country and in conversing with educators, religious spokesmen, students, and citizens' groups, I am not convinced that one receives definitive answers to this question; but I am certain that no inconsiderable number of people are raising the question. I do not believe it is an overstatement to say that in one form or another it is being posed about as often as any other question, with perhaps one exception, that being, "What do you mean by religion?"

II

Recently the writer invited a number of scholars over the country, especially perceptive in this particular field of study, to indicate some of the needed research in religion in public education; and the need to study what is now being attempted in this respect was mentioned more than any other one thing. The reader might be interested in some of the representative replies which were related to this point.

Philip Jacobson of the American Jewish Committee, speaking personally, remarked, "I should like to see a fairly comprehensive study made of the ways in which schools now deal with religious references as and when they are (and should be) intrinsic to the study of subject matter — in the social studies, literature, art, music, etc. We could thus learn how teachers in the public schools now deal with questions of diverse institutional interpretations; the attitudes teachers bring to their discussion of controversial subjects concerning religion; the kinds of questions children ask and the ways in which such questions are treated; how, if at all, children are affected by such classroom discussions; and the extent of children's information about religion conveyed both as a result of textbook treatment of these areas of instruction and as a result of classroom discussion. Such a study might serve several purposes. It would spell out much more clearly than has yet been done what we need to do about providing factual information

concerning religion in the public school curriculum; we might have enough information to prepare a suggested guide for teachers in the treatment of religious subject matter, somewhat along the lines of the Educational Policies Commission report on moral and spiritual values; and the controversy over religion and public education would be seen in much clearer perspective."

William E. McManus, Assistant Director of the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, commented as follows: "I think that there is a great need to make some careful studies of textbooks used in the nation's public schools for the purpose of determining (a) whether they deal with the reciprocal relationship between religion and their particular subject and (b) whether they do so accurately. In other words, I think that some studies comparable to the Hazen Foundation's research on religion and higher education would be extremely valuable in the area of elementary and secondary education."

J. W. Maucker, President of Iowa State Teachers College, has responded in this way: "In my opinion, the first big job to do is to find out just what is the status of the teaching of religion and about religion in the public schools at the present time. The American Council on Education study was designed to accomplish this, but it received such a meager return on the inquiry forms that it seems to me the study provides an inadequate foundation for further research. All throughout the work of the Teacher Education and Religion Project of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, we have been going on the assumption that teachers were failing to instruct students properly concerning the role of religion in human affairs because they were afraid to do so or because they were incompetent and, consequently, unable to do so, but this is still too much an area of assumption. We have not really demonstrated that point and nailed it down. Then, if the major hypothesis of the ACE study were confirmed, I think the next step would be to make detailed analysis of the factors

that hamper teaching about religion, and analyses of the kind of helps that teachers and administrators need in the way of pre-service and in-service training, new instructional materials, the development of community relationships which will support teaching 'about religion,' etc."

It seems to me that the questions raised in the above paragraphs are substantial and must be considered before we take important "next steps" in the area of research. It is so easy to make assumptions and to engage in loquacity. There may or may not be an unusual degree of religious ignorance and illiteracy among our teachers and pupils. We would probably do well to determine this. Moreover, should we discover a sizeable amount of religious illiteracy prevalent among our youngsters, we would want to make certain that it was due primarily to deficiencies in our school programs. There are some observers on the current scene who contend that pressures of recent years to introduce young people to "our religious heritage" have actually furthered rather than eliminated religious illiteracy. This, too, is something that we need to explore. Again, there are those who insist that school administrators and teachers are hesitant and fearful about treating religion in courses of study. All of us have read or have been told of unhappy situations in this respect, but we need a more adequate and extensive picture of such happenings and, in addition, of those instances where discreetly developed and implemented pedagogical efforts have not resulted in such traumata. Such research efforts may or may not indicate that we have been attempting too much, at least too much that is erroneous and unjust; but, at any rate, we need to discover this in a systematic way.

I should like to state that as we take a good look at the current situation, it would appear necessary to focus attention not only upon elementary and secondary schools but also upon schools of teacher education. If we are to face the future intelligently, we need a comprehensive picture of what is going on in each of these areas.

III

Now, what is it that we shall be searching for if we are to scrutinize the picture as it currently exists? Is it possible to spell out a bit more the concerns in such an effort? This is, indeed, a necessary precursor to any further action.

For one thing, we would be interested in those materials of a religious nature that are now being used for educational purposes — at all levels. What are the concepts that are most meaningful to students at various levels? What methods have been designed to relate religion to the various disciplines? What text book and reference material and tests seem applicable at the various age levels? What outcomes in knowledge and attitudes have been realized through past and current efforts? What kinds of student-teacher and other interpersonal relationships have developed?

It would also be interesting to investigate the ways teachers belonging to different faith groups operate within the classroom, as well as those who belong to no group. Still further, what are the obstacles which are characteristically met in initiating a factual study of religion in the schools and what are the policies and procedures which are most effective in obviating these difficulties?

We would be interested in additional questions relative to the preparation of the teacher for such assignments. To what extent have teachers been given adequate preparation to teach such material with factual accuracy? What role does the factual study of religion seem to occupy in the professional education of teachers? Who appears to be assuming the 'most responsibility for this in our teacher education institutions?

Actually, I suppose, we have omitted to this point, some of the basic questions with which the investigator would have to be concerned in grappling with the many questions raised in the preceding paragraphs. Before any appreciable amount of progress could be made in interpreting current conditions, there would have to be a clear under-

standing as to what is meant by the factual study of religion or the "teaching about" religion. Many will raise these questions and, in addition, will ask questions such as: (a) What do you mean by religion? (b) Does the teacher need to label subject matter as religious in order to be "teaching about" religion? (c) When is religion relevant to the subject matter? These are most important queries and, of course, it would be of considerable value to determine what great numbers of teachers have to say about these matters and many more similar topics.

All of this leads the writer to pose this question: What methods should be employed in obtaining the necessary representation of what has been attempted or is currently underway with respect to the factual study of religion within the context of public education? No attempt will be delineated here as far as any master design is concerned; but the writer is persuaded that if we are to stimulate a climate of scientific inquiry concerning the search for ultimate solutions to the many problems in this area, we must be receptive to the full use of scientific methods and tools of research. This may appear dilatory and tedious but it will prove rewarding. I should like to amplify, at least in a cursory fashion, some of the considerations that seem relevant.

How much do we know of the scholarly studies treating this general problem which have been conducted and developed as dissertations? They would not contain final answers or solutions but I am inclined to agree with J. Edward Dirks of Yale University, when he says, "I have particularly felt that there was undoubtedly material hidden away in doctoral dissertations in various places which deal with issues of religion in public education and which might possibly be brought to light in some coordinated way through a research project or through some type of publication." We are not thinking here, of course, only of doctoral dissertations but of any competent and scholarly research efforts. As we all know, such a procedure is taken seriously

in all divisions of education and it would seem that the same should be in order here.

There is probably a place, too, for a careful analysis of existing text books at all levels and in all disciplines to determine the manner in which religion is treated. It will be recalled that in about 1950, Brubacher made such a study, the results of which were published in *College Readings and Religion* sponsored by the Hazen Foundation and the American Council on Education. Herman E. Wornom, General Secretary of the Religious Education Association of the United States and Canada, in calling attention to this contribution, has said: "With the great increase in concern about religion and public education since 1950, it would seem to me that a new study in the history and philosophy of education is warranted. It would seem to me, too, that attention should be given to textbooks in literature, history, the social sciences, home economics, etc. The concern should not be to see whether or not religion as a separate body of subject matter is covered in these textbooks, but as to whether religion where it naturally belongs in our cultural and literary heritage is adequately presented, and as to whether the treatment is objective, favorable or unfavorable."

Still further, how familiar are we with some of the recent investigations and projects in which the factual study of religion is given emphasis? One such effort which might be cited is the Teacher Education and Religion Project being sponsored by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Here again, the point is not that this is a project to end all projects or that definitive answers to our problems are going to be forthcoming from this activity, but it should be emphasized that data from this project, together with other resources, should provide interesting and valuable insights.

I should think, too, that with the cooperative assistance of research specialists, curriculum experts, persons in tests and measurements, and scholars in the behavioral sciences, as well as in religion, we should want to prepare rather elaborate instru-

ments and procedures for widespread observations of classroom situations; interviewing of teachers, pupils, and others; the analysis of text books, course syllabi, and curriculum materials; and the compilation of data from case studies which may be available.

IV

I fail to see at the moment how we can neglect any of these measures and still gain proper insight and knowledge of current practices and problems relative to the factual study of religion in public education. To proceed on this basis, would among other things, require the cooperation of educators and school authorities; but I am inclined to feel that current interest in the problem is at a level which would make this possible on a rather comprehensive scale.

Let us assume, for the moment, that such an exhaustive study is carried out. Let us also speculate that, along with others findings, we should discover an ample need for further experimentation in the specific areas we have previously described. What then?

With the background of experience and study available, it would seem feasible to engage in experimentation in a way approximating the recommendations arising out of the previous study conducted by the American Council on Education. It is the judgment of this writer that it would be difficult to improve on these recommendations for experimentation. I would suggest that not more than three experimental centers be selected and it would probably be better to have only two. I would assume that at each center there would be cooperation on the part of the school system and the teacher education institution. Speaking of cooperation, I should like to emphasize that institutions selected for such a project should have a sincere desire to participate, and those schools accepting responsibility should pledge complete cooperation. This should not be the mere pledge of an ambitious and publicity-wise administrator but it should be the pledge of well-informed and highly motivated faculty. Such a project will need

for its success genuine cooperation from school officials and teachers alike, as well as a readiness on the part of community groups. A thorough study of this situation should be made before pilot centers are selected. In concluding my emphasis of this point, I should like to quote from American Council on Education's report: "In an undertaking of this character it should be understood, of course, that no individual, institution, or community should participate in any aspect of such activities unless or until there is sincere desire to do so. This problem is one which makes peculiarly imperative a scrupulous observance of the constitutional principle of religious liberty. One of the most important aims of such studies and experiments should be to learn how this principle can be applied to all — minorities and majorities alike."

There is still another research possibility which might be cited at this juncture in that it bears some affinity to research consideration of the factual study of religion approach. It should be kept in mind that the factual study on the "teaching about" approach to religion is generally considered within the context of general education courses or regular courses within the various disciplines, and that references to religion are justified only to the extent that they are relevant to the subject matter at any given point. There are some who contend that such an approach accomplishes little in the way of giving youngsters a greater understanding of the role of religion in human affairs or in the preparation of teachers to teach the role of religion in human affairs. What is needed, they believe, are formal courses in religion where the major tenets of all the world's great religions are given emphasis. The proponents of such a position point to certain courses which are being offered over the country on both the secondary and college levels and suggest that these programs be emulated.

There are some educators and instructors who are inclined to be sympathetic with this position, not only because they feel it affords a more exhaustive treatment of the subject but also because they think it en-

ables them to avoid having to consider "explosive" topics within their own courses. They can always say, "This is being treated in the department or course on religion." There are, likewise, some religious spokesmen of the various religious positions who have indicated interest in the possibilities of this plan.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that there are educators who see limited value in such a procedure. On the college level they sense that comparatively small numbers of students would find it possible to elect such courses, and on the secondary level they question if students are sufficiently mature to take such subjects.

Certain religious leaders have serious misgivings on these points, too. They question whether students are sufficiently mature on the secondary level and they are also dubious of the ability of teachers to teach such courses. They also question how "objective" many college instructors would be. They see serious social tensions arising out of any such attempt to teach religion.

We are not arguing the point one way or another — we are simply joining the ranks of a growing number of prominent educators and religious leaders who feel that some carefully developed experimentation and research might be conducted in this area. Admittedly, such a research design would have to be carefully formulated and there must never be any attempt at religious commitment of students. The only consideration should be that of determining if it is possible to teach the religions of the world objectively and what happens when this is undertaken. I should think that if we are willing to undertake a limited amount of research in connection with this problem, we might expect to emerge as somewhat more intelligent individuals regarding the matter than we have been up to this time.

As one gazes into the crystal ball and attempts the difficult assignment of predicting research trends over the next decade, there may be seen problems other than the ones given attention to this point. Delay-

ing reference to them is not to indicate their unimportance. While they may not receive the consideration during the next ten years they merit, they should be included in our present discussion.

V

One of the areas in which research is needed is that which is frequently referred to as education in moral and spiritual values. Some may wish to raise the question as to the relevance of this matter in an article dealing with the problem of religion in public education. Among other considerations, I suppose it is a matter of definition of terms. Be this as it may, the topic is included in as much as we regard it as one of importance.

As all of you know, procedures embodied in this particular approach have been given considerable attention over the last several years, especially since the report of the Educational Policies Commission. Workshops, conferences, numerous articles, and a variety of projects have developed. The writer is not aware of any comprehensive attempt at evaluating moral and spiritual programs, however, especially at the level which would afford anything approximating convincing results, one way or another. It is always possible that, as some have argued, such a program holds more promise within the context of public education than any other single effort. We need to experiment and evaluate more carefully than we have done thus far to find out. Some of the very questions we have raised relative to the factual study of religion need to be brought forth regarding this program, and the same emphasis needs to be given the importance of employing carefully refined tools of research.

William Clayton Bower has probably contributed as significantly as anyone to the rationale and activities in moral and spiritual values, and in recent correspondence with the writer, he suggested the following items on which research and experimentation are urgently needed:

1. A functional as distinguished from a theological concept of religion. The school

can and should take full account of religion as functionally understood, but should not deal with religion as theologically conceived. What is involved in a functional concept of religion?

2. Experiments in cooperation of the school and the churches in the development of moral and spiritual values as separate and autonomous institutions under the principle of the separation of church and state.

3. Analyses of the moral and spiritual value content of:

- a. The subject-matters of the curriculum.
- b. The relations and functions of the school as a community of interacting persons.

4. Criteria and procedures for measuring the growth of persons in the perception and effective realization of moral and spiritual values.

5. Experiments in the incorporation of an emphasis upon moral and spiritual values into the program of teacher-education institutions for the preparation of administrators and teachers, as well as the inclusion of this item in the certification of teachers.

I have made reference to these remarks of William C. Bower, not because I concur with him on each point (particularly on his reference to the certification of teachers) but because he does point up some of the areas in which further research is needed.

Most of those who are actively and, perhaps, effectively engaged in current moral and spiritual values programs would welcome further experimentation and evaluation of their efforts. Certainly all of us need to have a clearer conception of what is meant by moral and spiritual values, the resources and materials available for dealing in such values, and how to resolve some of the thorny problems relative to sanctions.

VI

There is still another problem which I believe deserves someone's responsible research concern during the next few years. I am not sure I know whose job it is, but I do know that if it is done, it will have to be assigned to someone who is not biased to begin with and who can thereby ap-

proach the assignment with the necessary objectivity. The problem to which I am referring is what is frequently termed "released-time" or "dismissed-time" religious education. While it is true that such programs are not the particular function or responsibility of the public schools, in most situations it cannot be said that school programs remain unaffected by them. Moreover, it is obvious that some of the objectives and activities of released-time projects are objectives and activities in which many of us have an interest. It is certainly not an overstatement to say that a considerable amount of money is being expended on such projects, to say nothing of the time and effort exerted in their behalf.

As we all know, there are some salient points which are being raised regarding this design of religious education, inquiries which merit research attention. I should like to make specific reference to some of the issues which have been recently advanced by certain thoughtful observers.

George H. Williams of the faculty of Harvard Divinity School has issued this question: "Can we ascertain the extent to which teachers and the children of parents who are either neutral or negative about religion or who belong to a self-conscious religious minority (this will, of course, depend upon the neighborhood or region) do in fact, as it has often been alleged, suffer academically and socially from the released-time and kindred programs to bring children close to the public school instruction?"

Simon Greenberg, of the University of Judaism has said, "I believe that an important subject for research in the area of religion and public education at the present time would be that of measuring the effects of the various types of programs involving the teaching of religion off the public school grounds but during hours usually set aside for the public school program. We should try to determine if there is some reliable way of doing it; the effect that this has had on the religious attitudes of the children and on their attitude to children of other faiths or those who did not participate at all in such religious instruction hours."

R. L. Hunt, Executive Director of the Department of Religion and Public Education of the National Council of Churches, sees the need for an inquiry concerning remedial defects which public school teachers see in operating programs of released time. He states, "It seems to work in some places and not in others. We as yet have no objective evidence as to what makes it work in some places and not in others. What can be learned from the experience of the public school teachers as they see these programs in operation?"

Jordan L. Larson, Superintendent of Schools, Mt. Vernon, New York, in an article in the *Phi Delta Kappan*, April, 1955, made this comment: "Considerable experience is being accumulated in schools having policies of weekday released time. What results in religious literacy can be observed? In institutional loyalties? In objective terms, what differences can be noted between children who have this experience and those who do not? What differences exist in schools which have this policy and in schools which do not? Has not the time arrived when we should make an objective appraisal of the effectiveness of this program?"

Many of the above questions now have the ring of familiarity about them. They have been chimed over and over again. The writer does feel, however, that such questions and comments are being heard with greater frequency and that the time has come for some systematic researches in this particular realm of activity, and that they should be conducted by persons free of emotional involvement or bias.

VII

Before the termination of this article there are two points which I should like to underline. In the first place, it should be said that the research items treated in these comments represent only a few of the several that might have been listed. Those of you who have been close to this general problem over the years could easily extend the list. There are legal questions and court decisions, interesting and pertinent

questions relative to Bible reading in the classroom, religious practices and extra-curricular programs of a religious nature, intercultural projects of varied forms, and many more fertile and timely research possibilities. However, in the opinion of the writer, the three general areas given emphasis in this presentation represent the more significant research needs as we look ahead for the next ten years, or perhaps much longer. I need not tell you that we are not expecting to see these problems completely resolved; rather, we are hopeful that productive explorations may be started so that we might at least experience some small gains or minor successes. As one views the prolific amount of research underway in all other areas of education — the sciences, the humanities, and the social studies — and in the various phases of teacher-education, and the consequent gains in the discovery of new insights and skills in such disciplines, he cannot but speculate over possible outcomes if we were to free ourselves to attempt parallel research efforts in religion in public education. Can we afford to wait much longer?

My final point is this: As we continue to deal with the total problem of religion in teacher education and public education, we need to promote and facilitate a greater amount of communication, not only among representatives of all segments of education, but among educators and religionists, the laity and professionals, students and teachers. We need to converse with one another, to become more trustful, more understanding. I am not advocating tactical maneuvers and artful polemics, for such are not antidotes for substantial problems; rather we need more in the way of humble, honest, mature reasoning together. Let us be realistic, however. Better communication will not resolve all our differences and difficulties, but neither will the absence of such a climate of understanding represent a solution to the problem. If we are interested in this matter of "community," whatever the sanctions which may be related to it, a good place for us to begin is with ourselves. If we are really serious about this matter, and

I think we are, then we have a real opportunity to implement our concern in our own personal lives as educators and religious leaders.

From the American Council report, to which I referred earlier, there is a further quotation with which I should like to close my remarks:

It would be a misunderstanding of the character and an underestimation of the complexity of the problem we face to assume

that such a solution can be achieved easily or soon. Religion is too basic for human needs, too vital to man's potentialities, and too fundamental to education to yield to special study. To assume that a solution cannot be achieved is to evidence a lack of faith in the resourcefulness of the American people. A major part of the problem, we think, is the achievement of a fuller understanding on the part of the people at large of the inherent limitations with respect to religion, under which the tax-supported educational institutions must operate.

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Our Unity of Christian Life and Work: Its Nature and Basis

Thomas H. West

Chicago, Illinois

"Recognizing that in God's universe variety and unity are in harmonious relation we, the member bodies of this Federation, declare that likewise among us there is inherent in our variety and freedom of faith and order an unbreakable unity which has its basis in a common loyalty to Jesus Christ and which we must express in cooperative activity in matters of life and work."

THUS runs the preamble to the constitution of The Church Federation of Greater Chicago, I use it as a preamble to this study because it is the epitome of my topic.¹

The core of this statement is the word "unity." This word must be understood. It is an "unbreakable" unity. A unity which can be broken is not a unity in fact. Unity is neither union nor uniformity. This has been said before but needs to be said again and again because the concept of unity in variety is not easy to achieve.

The unity exists in and by reason of our varieties of faith and order because despite these varieties we are one in Christ. But this unity needs to be discerned and come to expression in the corporate existence of our churches.

This is the why of my topic — unity in Christian life and work in the local church and community. Here we see that the preamble with which I began states a compulsion. Unity must lead to cooperative action, for unity without cooperation is dead as is faith without works. But let us not be misled. Cooperative action is an essential element of unity, but unity is not essentially existent in cooperative action. We must go beyond cooperative action. Our unity must be of the spirit. We must be wholly committed to unity to achieve unity.

¹The writer is the author of this preamble, composing it when in 1944 he served as Chairman of the Committee of Revision of the Constitution of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.

A half hearted attachment is not a commitment of the will. Therefore in complete commitment, let us to the study of my topic.

Compulsions to Unity

A. The Old Testament

What compulsions to unity are contained in the Christian Gospel? The expression "Christian Gospel" should, of course, be given the broadest possible interpretation but no interpretation, however generic, would include the Old Testament. Yet I submit we should not disregard that record of the Hebrew people. It is part of our heritage.

As has been said by Justin Wroe Nixon:²

"But the Hebrews did something that it has not been necessary to do to the same extent again. They reduced the vast and amorphous religious experience of mankind to relatively simple elements of faith and conduct that at once probed the depths of human need and made possible the utmost speculative and practical development of the religious life."

In doing this, — and they did it through years of adversity and tribulation — the Hebrews discovered the God who was omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, the God who was universal and sufficient for all man and for all times. Their discovery gave them — and us — unity in the Godhead.

It is a sad commentary that we, who are the heirs of their tradition and the followers of the Christ who revealed that omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, universal God as the Father of Man, are so sore put to find unity in that Christ. Yes, one great compulsion to unity is the Old Testament record of the achievement of the Hebrew people.

Our difficulty, of course, comes from the organization of Christians into churches. This was a difficulty that the Hebrews did not have to face for the religious and poli-

²*Responsible Christianity*, p. 64.

tical status of the Hebrew were one and inseparable. The organization of individuals into churches necessarily involved the problem of diversity. Diversity clashed with uniformity and the result was division.

B. *The New Testament and Early Church*

Jesus did not give his followers — his disciples then and us now — either a form of organization or a creed. His gift was a life and a spirit, both essentially universal in nature. The New Testament records only two references to the Church by Jesus. One is his well known reply to Peter — "Upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. 16.18), the other is in his statement in relation to the sinning brother. (Matt. 18.17). Thus from Jesus himself we have no recorded direct compulsion to one church, using that word as relating to an organization of individuals. We cannot doubt, however, but that the mind of Christ envisioned a church that was essentially and completely a unity in Him and the Father. The alternative is to associate disunity with Christ, an unthinkable combination if He is the revealer of the one universal God of the Hebrew people and in view of his reference to "one flock, one shepherd" (John 10.16), his prayer to the Father that his followers might be one even as He and the Father were one (John 17.22), and his command to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature (Mark 16.15).

In this matter of unity, as in other fields, Paul is the great messenger. Witness his rebuke to those who claimed to be of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas or of Christ (I Cor. 1.12) and his statement "He (Christ) is the head of the body, the Church . . ." (Col. 1.18). It is Paul who saves us from the pitfall of confusing unity with uniformity by his message to the Church at Corinth (I Cor. 12) about varieties of gifts but the same spirit, varieties of service but the same Lord, varieties of working but the same God and about the body though having many members being one. This message includes the declaration "for by one spirit we were all baptized into one body . . ." (verse 13). These Pauline declarations are compulsions upon us to realize unity in that "one body,"

the Church. Thus the two testaments are themselves in unity in the story they present to us, a story of unity not only in the words of Christ, but also in the pre-Christ and post-Christ record they respectively present.

However, we must realize that sincere Christians are not agreed as to what Paul meant by the term "one body." There are two major conceptions of that term existent today. One is the conception that "the Church" is a group of local units organically bound together into one large sovereign body, the other that "The Church" is a group of local units each possessed of sovereignty but bound together by ties of fellowship.

I must emphasize, however, that I have by no means exhausted the New Testament quotations which might be cited as compulsions to unity. Rather I prefer to emphasize that the Apostolic church at its beginning was a unity built on the twin principles of diversity and liberty with fellowship as the bond of union. The New Testament record shows that the Apostolic ideal was one Church, with the one universal God sufficient for all men as discovered by the Hebrews, one Christ the revealer of that God and the universal Saviour, and one universal fellowship uniting all men.

Above and beyond all else, that magnificent ideal is the great compulsion of the Christian Gospel for today.

C. *The Present Scene*

What are the compulsions to unity in the present scene? My task is not to consider this question in the world-wide sense even though the forces of evil are world-wide. My field is the local community and the local church in that community. The question then is — What are the compulsions to unity today in the local community?

Here I quote Gilbert K. Chesterton "Nothing is real until it is local." The first compulsion therefore is the stark fact that the world-wide forces of evil will not have massed against them the total strength of Christ's church unless and until the local churches in each local community are bound in the spirit of unity. The world scene

therefore is focused upon the local community and the heart breaking need of the world for Christ and His message is the first compulsion to unity in the community.

The next great compulsion lies in the fact that no idea can survive, let alone advance, in the world today except as it is supported by a union of persons committed to that idea. This compulsion places upon each local church of a community the duty of helping its members to achieve, as a matter of the spirit, unity with the members of the other local churches of the community. When this is achieved, the ecumenical movement will be truly local and therefore real. The two compulsions I have just mentioned are complementary compulsions. The one needs the other for its fulfillment.

The recent and authentic revelations of widespread moral delinquency are another compulsion of the present scene. As Bishop Sherrill has said,³ "What is needed is the inculcation of principles of right and wrong but you and I would agree that these must rest upon the character of God and the imperatives taught and lived by Jesus Christ."

The individual, and his conscience, is the responsibility of the local church but it is the common duty of the churches of a community to maintain the public conscience of the community and to bring that public conscience to bear upon the officials and magistrates of the community. In the last analysis, this is the only way in which the total and coordinated strength of all of the churches of a community can be massed against the organized forces of evil in the community, and as community is linked with community by county, state and national councils and country with country by The World Council of Churches will the nationwide and worldwide forces of evil be overcome.

To What Extent Has Unity Been Achieved

I pass naturally from the consideration of these compulsions of the Christian Gospel

and in the present scene to the question: To what extent has unity been achieved?

First, we must recognize that unity itself is a long way off. At present, we do not even know what form it will take. Obviously, a unity achieved in the future will not meet the needs of today. Fortunately, we have, during the first half of the twentieth century, taken the first steps to the achievement of unity in the community. I refer to the extraordinary growth in number and influence of the federations and councils of churches throughout our country during the last fifty years until today approximately 1,000 of these are in existence.

All of the compulsions I have mentioned unite in the compulsion to achieve a larger functional cooperation and again this must start in the local community and among the churches of that community.

To give effective leadership and service in community life the local churches of a community must ascertain and understand the needs and problems of their community — and then, through cooperation, seek to meet those needs and problems.

In some measure — great or small — this is being done by the nearly one thousand church federations and councils to which I have referred. This movement must expand. There is no community in which a federation or council of churches, served by ministers and lay persons, is not needed.

The pressure of today is to larger functional cooperation as the first step on the way to unity. The pressure of tomorrow will be greater than the pressure of today. Therefore, in the words of Isaiah, we need to stretch forth the curtains of the tent of cooperation. Down the centuries comes the command from this prophet of old "Spare not, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy stakes." The compulsions to unity to which I have referred puts us under the compulsion of that command. Let us go forward in the confidence that, as we enlarge our tent of cooperation, our insight will grow, our diversities will become less and inevitably unity will be achieved.

³*Current Religious Thought* May, 1951, p. 5.

SIGNIFICANT EVIDENCE

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The purpose of this column is to keep religious educators abreast of the relevant significant research in the general field of psychology. Its implications for methods and materials in religious education are clear. Religious educators may well take advantage of every new finding in scientific research.

Each abstract or group is preceded by an evaluation and interpretative comment, which aims to guide the reader in understanding the research reported.

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I. DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY ABSTRACTS

At least some aspects of a child's development are most profoundly affected during the first few years of life. These investigators throw some light on the nature of these early developmental patterns.

8126. Favez-Boutonier, Juliette. CHILD DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IN FRANCE (11). In Soddy, K., Mental health and infant development, Vol. 1, (see 30: 8151), 25-33. — "Conditions of life and the living quarters are very important, depending on the attitude of the mother. Several cases are briefly compared. Up to the age of two, 'the family background, or atmosphere and style of life, are of greater importance than the social backgrounds,' given minimum material needs. — L. S. Baker.

8127. Favez-Boutonier, Juliette. GROUP INFLUENCE ON PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT. In Soddy, K., Mental health and infant development, Vol. 1, (see 30: 8151), 131-140. — The earliest contacts between children of one and two years of age result in a primitive kind of society in which "might is right." Adult guidance is necessary for such groups. Parental influences are most important and cannot be replaced by nursery groups or other institutions. — L. S. Baker.

8140. Lezine, Irène. PARENTS' ATTITUDES AND THE BEHAVIOR OF YOUNG CHILDREN. In Soddy, K., Mental health and infant development, Vol. 1, (see 30: 8151), 48-53. — Some comparisons of familial attitudes and behavior are made among urban working-class, rural, and "better-educated" families. The latter tend to follow professional advice and to be more lenient than the others. — L. S. Baker.

8154. Spitz, René. THE INFLUENCE OF THE MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, AND ITS DISTURBANCES. In Soddy, K., Mental health and infant development, Vol. 1, (see 30: 8151), 103-108. — Based on the author's observations of several nurseries, the mother-child relationship is found crucial, especially in the earlier years. Severe early disturbances in the relationship often provides irreversible results of a highly damaging nature. — L. S. Baker.

8145. Mead, Margaret. THE EFFECTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT. In Soddy, K., Mental health and infant development, Vol. 1, (see 30: 8151), 180-185. — "Quite stable people can be produced out of methods of feeding and toilet training that seem terrible to us. . . . It all depends upon the stability of the society." It is necessary for child development practices to move with other social changes, and one need not fear that technological changes will leave human personality adjustment behind. Stability can be dynamic and people can change with technological changes. — L. S. Baker.

These two source books are useful for advising parents.

8128. Frank, Mary, and Frank, Lawrence K. YOUR ADOLESCENT AT HOME AND IN SCHOOL. New York: Viking Press, 1956, vii, 314 p. \$3.95. — This book was written for parents, teachers, and others concerned with adolescent boys and girls. A statement of faith and confidence in parents and teachers. A bird's eye view of what has happened to many parents over years of listening to professional advice when their boys are rebellious. The normal young person today is weak for lack of adult helpers in their freedom. Discussion of physical growth, adolescence, the family, school and social life, education, high school

programs, and their effect upon adolescents. 234-item bibliography. — *M. M. Gillet.*

8214. Byrd, Oliver E. (Comp.) *FAMILY LIFE SOURCEBOOK*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1956. ix, 371 p. \$7.50. — A collection of 400 articles published in 142 different periodicals during 1945-55 has been compiled, condensed, and arranged into 13 chapters, tracing the development of the family and its members from birth to old age. Also included are materials on juvenile delinquency and community relationships. "No claim is made that the *Sourcebook* is anything more than a statistical sample of existing research and experience in the field of family life." An integrative summary opens each chapter. 400-item bibliography. — *H. P. David.*

Good study habits are a primary factor in developing higher potential performance in children. This investigator indicates that good study involves effort.

8460. Armstrong, William H. *STUDY IS HARD WORK*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. xii, 167 p. \$2.00. — "Study is the total of all the habits, determined purposes, and enforced practices that the individual uses in order to learn. Study is hard work; no easy substitute is available." As a school-master at Kent School, studying for Armstrong is ". . . a matter of governing the will . . . of accepting a right purpose and of concentrating one's energies towards its achievement." An outline summary follows each chapter along with study exercises. The 14 chapters in the book cover: the desire to learn, using the tools, putting ideas in order, developing a vocabulary, getting more from what you read, written work, what books are, acquiring skill in study, interest and motivation in study, learning to listen, taking notes, reviewing for tests and examinations, taking tests and examinations. — *W. Coleman.*

If the thesis of this book is correct, it is necessary to provide the child with every opportunity to become objective and responsible for his own behavior and discourage his desires for dependence on adults and infantile "magic thinking."

7898. Odier, Charles. *ANXIETY AND MAGIC THINKING*. New York: International Universities Press, 1956. xii, 302 p. \$5.00. — In an attempt to integrate psychoanalytic concepts with the findings of Piaget's genetic psychology, the failure in neurosis of certain ego functions to combat infantile realism (adualism) and to rid the mind of it completely is stressed. Piaget characterized the child's intellectual realism as undergoing change to objectivity, reciprocity, and relativity and his moral realism changing to self-determined moral conscience around the period of late childhood. The author carries this analysis further in the field of affective realism and stresses that healthy

development entails passing from affective adualism to a sense of internal security, self-value, and independence. The concept of anxiety is discussed in this light and phobias and the "neurosis of abandonment" analyzed. — *L. N. Solomon.*

Dependence on the printed word for good adjustment in our society is reflected in this actuarial study.

8468. Penty, Ruth C. (Public Schools, Battle Creek, Mich.) *READING ABILITY AND HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUTS*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956. 93 p. \$2.75. — Among good readers the drop-out rate was 14.5%, among poor readers 50%. The peak of drop-out occurred in 10th grade. Intensive study was made to compare poor readers who drop out and poor readers who continue to graduation. In each group there was marked disparity between reading age and mental age. Other factors, such as emotional adjustment, home security, enjoyment of extra-curricular activities, served to encourage pupils to remain in school even though they had reading difficulties. 68-item bibliography. — *M. Murphy.*

II. ABSTRACTS RELATED TO COUNSELING

Both of these abstracts point out the vital functioning of the pastor as a counselor.

8269. Hall, C., Jr. (Oswatomie State Hosp., Kans.) *THE FUNCTION OF THE PSYCHIATRIC CHAPLAIN*. *J. pastoral Care*, 1955, 9, 145-152. — A consideration of the role of the psychiatric chaplain indicates that the following functions represent the chaplain's place in the treatment program: The chaplain "works with certain individual patients in some kind of pastoral counseling relationship . . . uses certain religious resources to help strengthen whatever line of defense or defense mechanism the person is best able to use . . . works with groups, often using the medium of religious material for a therapeutic purpose . . . and is available at all times to give pastoral care . . . and conducts worship services on Sundays." — *O. Strunk, Jr.*

8284. Yoder, H. Walter. *JUDGMENTAL ATTITUDES IN PASTORAL COUNSELING*. *J. pastoral Care*, 1955, 9, 221-224. — It is pointed out that "judgmental attitudes" and "accepting attitudes" have become "labels which may dangerously obscure the character of pastoral counseling and impede the development of the understanding of helpful counselor attitudes." Pastoral counselors should recognize that *all* counseling involves evaluations and judgments, and that personal evaluations which are made explicit to the counselee may be a great help in the counseling relationship. — *O. Strunk, Jr.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TO THE EDITOR:

In fairness to the readers of *Religious Education*, at least one statement in Father Tavad's critical review of *The Protestant Churches of America* needs to be clarified. He takes issue with the author's observation that in Roman Catholicism the ultimate authority on earth is vested in one person, the Pope. This is described as "only a half-truth," on the score that "all bishops also, in their common agreement on points of doctrine, wield ultimate authority."

The traditional teaching of the Catholic Church recognizes only one ultimate earthly authority in faith and morals, which is the Roman Pontiff. Undoubtedly single bishops in the Church wield authority in their dioceses and collectively, under the Pope, they represent the *Ecclesia docens* or teaching Church founded by Christ. But their right to instruct and direct the faithful is subordinated to the Pope and cannot be said to be an ultimate authority which is parallel with that of the Roman Pontiff and independent of his. Consequently the Pope may infallibly define a doctrine binding on the universal Church without convoking a general council of the bishops, as he did in defining the Immaculate Conception in 1854 or the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in 1950. And even the teaching of an ecumenical council like Vatican or Trent becomes definitive and obligatory on the Catholic world only when and to the extent of which the bishops' deliberations are confirmed by the Holy Father.

In the history of the papacy, every attempt to question or restrict the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff has been repudiated by the Church. No single bishop or group of bishops, even a general council, is exempt from this subordination. As solemnly defined by the Vatican Council, it is forbidden to hold that "the Roman Pontiff has not the full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the whole Church, not only in matters that pertain to faith and morals, but also in matters that pertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world," or that "he has only a more important part and not the complete fullness of this supreme power," or that "this power is not ordinary and immediate over each and every church or over each and every shepherd (bishop and priest) and faithful member."

The very concept of "ultimate" implies a finality and supremacy which cannot be equally or independently shared by disparate powers in any human society. In the Catholic Church this finality is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. Whatever authority in teaching and government is possessed by other ecclesiastics in communion with Rome is ultimately exercised under his jurisdiction, and the unity of Catholic Christianity over the centuries is due to this basic subordination of all the clergy and laity to the See of St. Peter.

I have no doubt Father Tavad would agree with the foregoing explanation. But in the writer's judgment it seemed liable to misunderstanding to denominate as "a half truth" that the Roman Pontiff is final arbiter of faith and morals in the

Catholic Church. I am grateful to the editor for permission to write this personal reply.

Rev. John A. Hardon, S.J.
Jesuit Theologate
West Baden College
West Baden Springs, Indiana

TO THE EDITOR:

The review of my book, *Religion In Action*, which was printed in the March-April issue, is so at variance with what I endeavored to write that I should be grateful if you would allow me a few words in reply. The reviewer says I claim that "part of the equipment of our Lord" was *invincible goodwill* but he says that I do not make clear "just how Jesus conquered Pontius Pilate by this means." It seems to me clear as crystal how Jesus used invincible goodwill and conquered by using it. He told Peter not to use the sword; he prayed, "Father, forgive them . . ." He repeatedly taught that we must use love in action, even "love your enemies," "do good to them who hate you," "pray for them . . ."

Invincible goodwill, implemented for action by God's love for men and guided by His will, does triumph in the long run. Pilate today is all but forgotten. Jesus, through the centuries, has been Master and Lord to millions of disciples. He accepted the way of the Cross; sacrifice and service are surely the heart of his call to us.

The reviewer states that I make it plain "that we cannot hope to live with capitalism." Nowhere in the book do I say this. All of us in the United States are living with capitalism. I ask that as Christians we try to make it a more ethical capitalism. To stimulate thought I worked out eighteen parallels between the classical arguments for slavery and the modern apologetic for capitalism but I merely state that *some* of the arguments used today in support of capitalism may be false. He complains that I have not worked out a similar parallel for communism. I never dreamed that it was necessary. I supposed that we were *all* opposed to communism and know its evils. I did devote an entire chapter to communism and clearly portray its evils. He objects because I urge an agreement with Russia to reduce our armaments but this is just what President Eisenhower is now doing.

My book has had a great many reviews by Catholics, Protestants and others. Most of them praise the book, perhaps too highly. The review in the January issue of the *Christian Advocate*, for instance, says *Religion In Action* "will easily rank as one of the half dozen outstanding books of the year." A Christian business man who read the book sent the author one thousand dollars for helping to distribute its application of the Gospel to present day life. So if any of your readers want the book I will send it, using this money that was donated. The retail price is \$4.75 but I will send it postpaid for \$3.00.

Jerome Davis,
West Haven, Connecticut

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bridge: A Yearbook of Judaeo-Christian Studies. Edited by JOHN M. OESTERREICHER. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1956. 357 pages. \$3.95.

I

This is the second issue of a Yearbook which Father Oesterreicher hopes will make increasingly evident the "reverence and affection" which scholars who deem "the word of Christ . . . God's final revelation" entertain for the holy faith of Judaism. Such witnessing is not easy or, alas, widespread, but this volume makes it seem quite simple and natural. Yet when a reviewer has paid tribute to the spirit in which the authors have written their several contributions, he is perforce at a loss as to how he shall comment on what is both a sort of *Festschrift* and a learned annual. Notable throughout is a profound concern for sacredness in the lives of Christians and Jews, though inevitably the issues presented have been brought into sharp focus by history, art and the course of events. Only a symposium of critics could in turn do them justice. What is said here is only the briefest kind of lay summary.

The major essays are on the whole notable and stimulating. Father Alexander Jones, a gifted English Catholic Biblical scholar, argues that the Bible is not a "granite block," or even "a coral reef," but verily "a thing that grows from within, vitally." Thus new and significant meaning is given to Newman's intuition of doctrinal development. While I find Monsignor Charles Journet's essay on "The Mysterious Destinies of Israel" somewhat nebulous and perhaps rhetorical (this may be due to the fact that it is presented in translation) it establishes a highly impressive distinction between the *sin* and the *legacy* of unbelief. Judaism therewith becomes "by no means an 'anti'-church" but "one fallen from a high place." Father Oesterreicher himself reviews what has recently become known about the Qumran community. His essay is lucid and meaty, though naturally it cannot dispose of conundrums which still await solution. "The monks of Qumran," he concludes, were "watchers for God's kingdom" and so "the Christian's kin."

Professor Barry Ulanov's "The Painter and the Prophets" is an unusually brilliant exposition of the thought of Michaelangelo as revealed primarily through the Sistine Chapel frescoes. It is most interesting, combining as it does skilful technical commentary with effective discourse on Michaelangelo's kinship with Dante in pious contemplation of the whole Revelation. I have a feeling that this paper will insure long life for the volume in which it appears. Father Joseph N. Moody re-evaluates the Dreyfus Affair, utilizing recently published books and drawing thoughtful conclusions. Of value to many readers will be his analysis of the anti-Semitism of Edouard Drumont.

The second part of *The Bridge* is entitled "Perspectives" and brings together a number of shorter, possibly less ambitious essays, and is followed by sections entitled "Surveys" and "Books." Viewed

together, they resemble the contents of a good quarterly. The reader is invited to profit, for instance, by Sister Kathryn Sullivan's meticulous analysis of the prayer, "Pro perfidis Judaeis," about which so much has been written (and not always well), or appraise Professor Richard J. Schoeck's attempt to give a new interpretation of the "Prioress's Tale." Nothing here offered is thin or surfcy.

Such a book cannot fail to do good, for the simple reason that it is itself good in purpose and quality. By way of criticism one must add that the proofreading leaves a good deal to be desired. — George N. Shuster, President, Hunter College, New York City.

II

In his Preface to the second volume of *The Bridge*, Father Oesterreicher defends these studies as true dialogue, despite the fact that only the Catholic point of view is given direct presentation therein: "Wherever the 'other' is met not as an object but as a 'thou,' a living and loved being, there is dialogue." No honest reader could fail to be impressed by the contribution that *The Bridge* does, in fact, make to "the never resting dialogue of Christians and Jews." But genuine dialogue also demands the mutual acknowledgment of the presence of two really different points of view, each with its own legitimacy. It demands, to some extent, not only the objective awareness that the other point of view exists, but, as Martin Buber has put it, "experiencing the other side." The uniformly high scholarly quality of the essays collected in this volume and the uniformly fine spirit that inspires them is not matched by uniform success in recognizing and acknowledging the Jewish attitude toward its own heritage and tradition. In his review of Joseph Klausner's *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, Father J. Edgar Burns complains that while one cannot expect Dr. Klausner "to agree with the Christian interpretation of the messianic prophecies," one has a right "to expect him to acknowledge that interpretation rather than, for the most part, ignoring it as though it did not merit attention." Yet the Jewish interpretation of the messianic prophecies is, in the most important theological studies in this volume of *The Bridge*, either ignored or seen so entirely from without as to be distorted into almost a caricature of itself. This suggests that the title of the series, if not a misnomer, is certainly misleading. Even such devoted research and understanding as is brought to Judaism by the contributors to this volume cannot enable them to construct "the bridge" by themselves. What they can and do do is to help make the dialogue possible through reaching out toward the other side. Not the least part of this help is the removal of many misunderstandings about Jews and Judaism, on the one hand, and the clarification of basic differences between Catholicism and Judaism, on the other. In this sense, Father Oesterreicher's final statement of intention comes closest of all to an accurate de-

scription of this volume: "*The Bridge*, then, desires to make understood Him Christ who separates, and those whom He separates."

Volume II of *The Bridge* includes a remarkable amount of interesting, varied, well-written material, combining high standards of scholarship with religious dedication and sincerity. Permeating most of the book is the implicit or explicit recognition of the problem that the existence of the Jews constitutes for Catholic Christendom: the paradox of a never-faltering claim that Israel must be brought to the acceptance of Christ combined with an equally unwavering denunciation of anti-semitism in all of its forms. The fact that there is and probably can be no clear line of demarcation between a religiously-inspired anti-semitism and a social one adds a special pathos and intensity to this paradox.

The opening essay, Father Alexander Jones' "The Word is a Seed," is a suggestive study of the stages of the Biblical Word, through creation, law, the personification of the Word in wisdom literature to the Word made flesh in Christ. Father Jones misses the spoken quality that adheres to *Torah*, however, identifying it with "law" and "legislation" rather than its real meaning of "teaching" and "instruction."

Running throughout the longest study in the book, Monsignor Charles Journet's "The Mysterious Destinies of Israel," is the traditional dualism between the "Israel of the spirit" and the "Israel of the flesh." This antithesis not only underlies his acceptance of the popular misconception of why the Jews rejected Jesus as the Messiah; it also gives some support to the very anti-semitism he so emphatically rejects, by associating the Jews as a category with a dominant desire for a this-worldly kingdom, temporal happiness, and political power. Attributing the Jews' rejection of Christ to temptation and "hardness of heart," Msgr. Journet sets "their dreams of immediate deliverance, political sovereignty, and earthly happiness" over against "a Messiah too pure and spiritual, too poor and humiliated" for them to accept. Even in distinguishing degrees of guilt — "the sin was far from resting in equal measure on all Jews" — he tends to perpetuate the popular conception of the "blood-guilt" of Israel for the death of Christ — one of the most powerful religious sources of anti-semitism down through the ages.

Nor is Israel even free as *Israel* to be other than "the Israel of the flesh." "The priests of Israel . . . chose the world, and to that choice their whole people are henceforth bound." Journet quotes Jacques Maritain. Although the grace of the Messiah "knocks at the heart of every one of Abraham's children," Journet writes, the "dreadful error" of rejecting Christ hurled "Israel into religious roads bent from the very start," so that the future generations are burdened under well-nigh "invincible ignorance." As a result, both Journet and Maritain ascribe all piety of individual Jews to the grace of Christ moving unknown within them. One of the finest products of Jewish piety — the Hasidism of eighteenth and nineteenth century Eastern Jewry — is seen by Journet not as an outgrowth and fulfillment of Judaism, but as a rediscovery of "the co-redemptive qualities of Christian love" which belongs, in consequence, to "the

Church universal." This view even leads Maritain, with Journet's approval, to the incredibly presumptuous doctrine that piety in a Jew represents a betrayal of Judaism! "Despite himself, and in obscuring mist," Journet quotes Maritain, "the pious Jew, the Jew of the spirit, carries the gentle Cross, and thus betrays Judaism without realizing what he does."

Both Msgr. Journet and Fr. Jones fail to understand that, for the Biblical Jew, the prophetic call to man's free decision to turn back to God in the concrete present is incompatible with an apocalyptic "fulfillment" of the prophecies which replaces or prefaces the free decision of the present by a divine mystery of grace unfolded in the future. Neither recognizes the covenant of Biblical Judaism to which the prophets in fact were recalling their hearers — the task of making real the kingship of God in every aspect of concrete individual and communal existence — or the third, really Biblical alternative to the either-or of a spiritual or a worldly kingdom — man's hallowing of creation through bringing it, in unreduced concreteness, into his relation to God.

The third essentially theological study in the volume, one of lesser scope but in many respects greater insight than the study of Msgr. Journet or even that of Fr. Alexander, is Father Quentin Lauer, S.J.'s "The Genius of Biblical Thought." This essay is a remarkably fine summary presentation of the attitude of the Hebrew Bible toward creation, man, and time. But "the dynamic and existential character of Hebrew thought" to which Lauer points is much closer to the Biblically-rooted dialogical existentialism of Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, which Fr. Lauer does not mention, than to Bergson's process philosophy, which he stresses. "Continuous creation" does not mean organic evolution, but the ever-renewed dialogue between God, man, and world. The dynamic, temporal, and concrete quality of Biblical history, as Abraham Heschel has pointed out, is not basically a *process* in which the past flows into the future, but a series of present *events* in which a new creative moment is injected into the stream of history through the address of God and the response of man.

A second weakness in Fr. Lauer's essay is that he does not even discuss the problem that from the Jewish point of view Christianity is not a natural continuation of Biblical thought but a deflection and contradiction of it. The shakiness of Fr. Lauer's flat assertion that the Jews' rejection of Christ "cannot be ascribed to a faithfulness to the genius of their own thought" is thrown into relief by his statement almost immediately thereafter that "the great stumbling block to the Jews was the Crucifixion, not the Incarnation." Quite to the contrary, the incarnation of God in man could never have been acceptable to the Biblical Jew; for it removes the distance between God and man, it not only constructs an image of God in Christ but fixes it there, and it proclaims a redemption essentially different from the concrete task of making real the kingship of God in actual community.

Father Oesterreicher's "The Community of Qumran" is an interesting study of the findings of the Dead Sea Scrolls which makes the excellent

point that to see resemblances between the Qumran "Teacher of Justice" and Christ in no way denies the uniqueness of Christ. Fr. Oesterreicher also points out significant differences, such as the exclusiveness of the Qumran community, their despair of the sinful world, their hatred of their enemies. But he misses an equally essential point — the irreconcilability of the pronounced dualism of the Qumran "Sons of Light" and "Sons of Darkness," between whom there can be no peace, with the Biblical ascription of *both* good and evil to God (Isaiah 45: 6-7). In consequence, he also fails to see how in pointing to the resemblance between this language of the Covenanters and similar language of St. John and St. Paul, he is also pointing to proto-Gnostic elements essentially foreign to Biblical Judaism, however much they may have appeared in the later, more syncretistic atmosphere in which the Qumran community, the Jewish apocalypics, and early Christianity all took their rise.

If Father Edward A. Synan's review of Jacob Agus' *Guideposts in Modern Judaism* falls into the minor error of including Martin Buber within the pattern of Conservative Judaism, it has the major virtue of recalling Rabbi Agus, and with him the modern Jew, to the Judaism of Biblical faith. The Jewish thinker can only be grateful for this honest confrontation. — *Maurice Friedman*, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y.



Educational Psychology. Fourth Edition, Revised. By WILLIAM A. KELLY, Ph.D. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956. 574 pages. \$4.25.

Educational Psychology in the Classroom. By HENRY CLAY LINDGREN. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956. 521 pages. \$5.00.

In these two books on educational psychology (the one new, the other a new revision) Dr. Kelly, Professor of Educational Psychology at Fordham University, and Dr. Lindgren, Professor of Psychology at San Francisco State College, provide the religious educator with interesting points for comparison and contrast.

Of the two books, Dr. Kelly's is the more ambitious, undertaking a survey of much material usually taught in courses on philosophical psychology and general psychology, as well as in statistics. Dr. Lindgren's, on the other hand, emphasizes the newest findings in clinical and social psychology and related fields. Dr. Kelly's study aims to present principles and generalizations wherever possible; Dr. Lindgren's relates the results of psychological research to the concrete classroom situation. Dealing as it does with more concrete material, Dr. Lindgren's is the more vivid book, as also the more attractive (and expensive) on account of its well chosen illustrations.

Dr. Kelly's long association with one of the great teaching orders of the Catholic Church places him in a position to speak with a degree of authority on the principles embodied in the educational tradition of that order. A word in explanation of some of the basic presuppositions of his book may not be amiss in a review addressed to many who are unacquainted with the philosophy of Catholic education. One such presupposition

is that there are many sciences of man, and in particular that valid knowledge about human beings is to be had from the scientific and empirically based philosophy of man as well as from the scientific and supernatural theology of man. These sources of knowledge about human nature do not rival but rather supplement whatever knowledge that laboratory, the clinic, and in general the specialized methods of psychology are able to furnish about man. Thus Dr. Kelly sees educational psychology as endeavoring to "present the relationship of the science of the mind to the art of teaching," (p. 2) and considers the "ultimate end of education" to be the "development of character." (p. 549) Again, "character is the unity, the harmony, the integration of man's native endowment, and of his acquired reactions functioning toward a morally good end under the guidance of intellect and will which direct and control his actions." (p. 524) It is within this philosophic and theological framework that the author discusses such topics as Growth and Development, Learning, Measurement and Evaluation, and Guidance and Adjustment. In this reviewer's opinion it is questionable whether a book devoted to educational psychology can profitably survey at such length and in a necessarily superficial manner the findings of general and philosophical psychology which are so readily available in other books. It would seem that there is material here for two books: the first, a more advanced treatment of the philosophy underlying educational psychology (which could deal with such questions as authority vs. authoritarianism and with the statement quoted without comment by Lindgren that "Obedience and responsibility are contradictory." (p. 307)); the second a truly introductory text for the student of educational psychology, who would, however, be supposed to have completed prerequisite courses in philosophical and in general psychology.

Professor Lindgren's book is well entitled *Educational Psychology in the Classroom*, since it is a most practical discussion of the application of scientific findings to classroom practice. The book thus indicates of its author that he is one of the "growing number of educational psychologists who feel that their best functions are served if they work in close collaboration with teachers, not only on problems relating to educational measurement and learning efficiency, but also on problems in such fields as mental health, group relations, classroom communications, and parent-teacher relations." (p. 15) "Educational psychology . . . represents the empirical foundation of education — . . . those aspects of education which can be certified by experimentation, test, and observation, what might be called the 'scientific basis of education.'" (p. 15) For this reason "progress made in educational psychology is bound to affect the philosophical bases of education." Careful observation and shrewd interpretation of data gained through observation are characteristic of this interesting and informative book. One striking instance among many may be singled out — his discussion of the relation between parental standards and school success: "People who have no books tend to live more for the immediate present, rather than for the future. Their world is the world of things and of feelings, rather than of books and ideas." (p.

186) While Dr. Lindgren has not made his own philosophy of education so explicit as has Dr. Kelly, he has done what he set out to do, namely, to provide facts which may function as an empirical basis for a philosophy of education. It is probably impossible, however, to be completely empirical in the statement of facts — to avoid subtly combining interpretive theories with the facts. Thus, while social motives may indeed influence parents to choose religious education for their children, in order that the latter may not be made to feel excluded and rejected by other children, as the author theorizes, (p. 89) it is nevertheless clear that with such parents, a very important consideration, if not the principal one, is the desire that their children be educated to religious duty and practice as well as to the proper functioning of mind and heart and body.

While there are, as might be expected, vast areas of agreement in these two books, it is also true that they express different approaches to the subject — to the extent that one can readily accept the implication that there is much disagreement as to the exact subject matter of educational psychology. One important basic principle on which both authors would agree is that of the unique importance of the individual child. Both books contain valuable material. Dr. Lindgren's book occasionally and Dr. Kelly's frequently could profit from editing. The parts of Dr. Kelly's book that have been rewritten are more readable than the others, which often make tedious reading. It is to be hoped that in future printings an attentive proof-reading will reduce the excessive number of typographical errors in both books (Kelly: pp. 44, 67, 137, etc.; Lindgren: pp. 114, 180, 288, etc.) — *Sister M. Kevin, C.S.J., Associate Professor of Philosophy, The College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minn.*



The New Ordeal of Christianity. By PAUL HUTCHINSON. New York: Association Press, 1957. 128 pages. \$2.50.

"What is the relation of the Christian Church to this (present) crisis in human affairs?" This is the question which Dr. Hutchinson, the late Editor of *"The Christian Century"* attempts to answer in this volume which has been published posthumously. Dr. Hutchinson died in 1955.

Dr. Hutchinson believes that the Church has a responsibility for the character of civilization. He also maintains that modern youth is wondering if the Church has a message that is relevant to the crisis in civilization today.

In addition to the Introduction there are five chapters in this book. The first two chapters deal with Roman Catholicism — on the defensive politically in many parts of the world and on the offensive socially, industrially and intellectually. The authoritative note in Roman Catholicism concerning the truth makes a strong intellectual appeal to many people, according to this author.

Turning to Orthodoxy, in chapter three, Dr. Hutchinson finds that there are three struggles within this Church: (1) with Rome; (2) between the patriarchs of Istanbul and Moscow for the leadership of Orthodoxy; (3) within all the Orthodox Churches outside the Russian orbit between their pro- and anti-Communist elements.

The last two chapters are devoted to a study of Protestantism, first on the world scene and then in America. Dr. Hutchinson sees established state Churches as manifesting inherent weaknesses, especially in Scandinavian countries. He also believes that there is "no sense of growing influence" in world Protestantism. Too often "Protestant Churches are becoming simply respectfully tolerated institutions in which the traditional rituals of social good form are conducted — baptisms, marriages, worship services, burials — but from which neither great light nor great leading is expected" (p. 80). Yet, he sees signs of hope in Protestantism such as the ecumenical movement, the new "lay awakening" and Protestantism's capacity for self-criticism.

Readers of *Religious Education* will be especially interested in this observation from the author: "I hope," writes Dr. Hutchinson, "American Protestantism will take the lead in putting the study of religious lore back into the American public school system. Note what I say: not the study of religion, but the study of religious lore. To attempt the first would be further to divide our American communities and to strike a terrible blow at the principle of separation of Church and state. But the lore of religion is a fundamental element in culture, and no student will come out of our schools with a fully rounded basic education who is ignorant in this regard" (p. 126). We are led to ask: will the teaching of "religious lore" be sufficient to give "depth" to American culture?

This is a searching book. The author turns the searchlight of his critical mind on all phases of Church life. Perhaps the chief weakness of this book is that its scope is too comprehensive and its conclusions too general. However, this is a book from a man who has pondered deeply "the new ordeal of Christianity" and has something very worth while to say. One thing is certain. This book will not permit any reader who is a devoted Christian to be content with the status quo with respect to the Church and its impact on civilization. For this reason, among others, this book deserves to be widely read. — *R. C. Chalmers, St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.*



Toward a Christian Philosophy of Higher Education. Edited by JOHN PAUL VON GRUENINGEN. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 191 pages. \$3.50.

A notable convocation was assembled by Jamestown College in North Dakota for three days in June, 1955, to examine various aspects of the philosophy of Christian education, especially as this is related to higher education in the United States. For a small college to undertake that kind of event is a tribute both to its self-understanding in terms of public relations and to its sense of responsibility to the whole culture. A college in the farther borders of the country does not have to be provincial — this is evident from the kind of undertaking represented by the Jamestown convocation.

The lectures presented at Jamestown have now been assembled into the present book. In some cases the material has been revised or abridged to meet space requirements, but the editor assures us

that the material has not been altered in its thought or essential form. Four sections have been arranged: theory, personality, method and goals.

Several of the essays stand out for unusual perspicuity. For example, McCormick Theological Seminary's Professor Joseph Haroutunian has a chapter on "A Protestant Theory of Education," which is illuminated by cryptic statements such as this: "A teacher who lectures all the time is not likely to be a humble man no matter how he feels," and his warning that "nothing is to be gained, and much is to be lost, by a 'Christian education' that consists in indoctrination, aimed at the making of decent, docile, dull and disgruntled youth such as one finds on pious campuses." J. Edward Dirks of Yale interprets the relation of faith and reason in terms of "a meeting" — that is, a meeting which transpires "where the divine reason (or logos) sets up its law in the region of man's understanding."

In addition there are excellent chapters by the other contributors: Theron B. Maxson of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Board of Christian Education, President Conrad Bergendoff of Augustana College, William E. Hulme of Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dean Merrimon Cuninggim of Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Ruth E. Eckert of the University of Minnesota, President O. P. Kretzmann of Valparaiso University, Kenneth I. Brown of the Danforth Foundation, D. Elton Trueblood of Earlham College and the President of the host college at Jamestown, Edwin H. Rain. The editor is Professor of German at Jamestown. — *Kendig Brubaker Cully*, Professor of Religious Education, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Ill.



The Mind of the Church in the Formation of Sisters. Selections from Addresses Given During the Six Regional Conferences and the First National Meeting of the Sister Formation Conference, 1954-1955. Edited by SISTER RITAMARY, C.H.M. New York: Fordham University Press, 1956. 282 pages + xxxi. \$3.00.

Some four million students attend Catholic schools in the United States. About 75% of these young people "sit in classrooms facing a nun in her religious habit" (p. 11). The problem of teacher preparation has for the Catholic religious orders of women a significance far beyond that which troubles public boards of education. These teachers must have a strong personal vocation to the religious life. They must also be prepared to perform their classroom chores with competence and effectiveness. Adequate formation of the good teacher and the good nun is a tremendous problem in today's America. The territorial and numerical expansion of our society is reflected in an ever-increasing development of Catholic schools. Most of these schools need and want members of the women's religious orders for their teaching staffs. The religious orders themselves are growing in size, but never do they keep step with the demands for their services. They seek more members and must encourage vocations to the religious life among girls of high school age, at which age training for the religious life *per se* is best begun. This means that the religious orders which are most successful in attracting new members must generally

accept also the responsibility for seeing these young sisters through the most expensive portion of their educational experience. There is a great temptation — and frequently an overpowering demand — to send young sisters into classrooms before they are fully prepared to handle effectively the problems which they will meet there. Another temptation confronting the orders is that of providing their own facilities for the higher education of their members. This results in the multiplication of small, inadequately financed four-year colleges or teacher-training institutes whose academic standards are not as high as they should be.

The formation of sisters — for both the religious life and the life of the classroom — contrasts strongly with rules promulgated by the Church for the preparation of priests and the teaching orders of men. These rules require anywhere from six to twelve years of intensive preparation and study embracing the major fields of profane knowledge as well as philosophic and theological studies.

Pope Pius XII, in a 1951 discourse to the Congress of Teaching Sisters advised, in somewhat peremptory terms:

See to it . . . that they (the teaching Sisters) are well trained and that their education corresponds in quality and academic degrees to that demanded by the State. Be generous in giving them all they need, especially where books are concerned, so that they may continue their studies and thus offer young people a rich and solid harvest of knowledge (p. xv).

This papal exhortation resulted in the setting up of a Sister Formation Committee of the National Catholic Education Association and in a series of regional and national conferences on the subject in 1954 and 1955. The papers presented at these conferences, here published, consider various phases of the problems outlined above. They do not present final answers to them, but they do indicate a multitude of potentially helpful avenues of approach to solutions of many of them. The most encouraging feature of the book is the evidence which it presents of the overwhelming desire on the part of the orders and of the hierarchy of the Church to realize completely the expressed wish of the Holy Father that all Catholic schools "endeavor to become excellent," and that the teaching Sisters become "masters of the subjects they expound." This "Sister Formation Movement" has, in a period of four years, become one of the most vital and dynamic activities of the American Catholic educational system. It is continuing and expanding, and promises to be one of the most fruitful educational developments in the history of American Catholicism. — *John J. Meng*, Dean of Administration, Hunter College of the City of New York.



Psychotherapy and Religion. By HENRY GUNTHER. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1957. 200 pages. \$3.00.

An English clergyman with long experience as a parish minister and as a qualified psychotherapist in a clinic gives us a very competent and informed study of the relationships between these fields. His approach is with the problem of anxiety and from

this he moves into the meaning of defenses and then of healing. His analysis of the meaning of anxiety is refreshing, even though much has been written on that subject lately. The real contribution of the book lies in its emphasis on becoming a genuine, mature person, on the power of interpersonal relationships to promote or to block this goal, and on the function of religion and of psychotherapy alike in creating conditions and relationships which make growth possible. The insights of the author into the child's need for love, and into the values created by both psychotherapy and religious experience will be very helpful to religious educators. One of the emphases of the book is the creative power of loving relationships regardless of the context in which they are found. Written in a non-technical style, this book will reward careful study with rich insights and sound stimulation. *Carroll A. Wise*, Professor of Pastoral Psychology and Counseling, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.



Christian Essays in Psychiatry. Edited by PHILIP MAIRET. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 187 pages. \$4.50.

A group of English psychiatrists, psychologists and clergymen, having met for discussion for some time, now put into book form some of their thoughts about the relation of psychiatry and religion. The first chapter states some of the problems, one being the need of man for faith as well as science. Religious educators will be especially interested in the chapter on the religious development of the individual and on the development of the religious attitude in children. Here the relation of normal aspects of development and of significant interpersonal relationships for religious growth are discussed with real insight. Religious educators will also be interested in the chapter dealing with the psychological and theological meanings of the experience of guilt. Other chapters deal with the relation of religious symptoms to mental illness, treatment, the concepts of psychiatry, and the constitutional approaches. The major psychological viewpoint of the authors is that of C. J. Jung, so that both the problems and the answers are formulated from this angle. It is an interesting observation that the major interest in the psychology of Jung today is to be found among groups interested also in religion. The entire book is worth the reading, and some chapters will repay careful study, depending on the background of the reader. — *Carroll A. Wise*, Professor of Pastoral Psychology and Counseling, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.



Natural Religion and Christian Theology. By A. VICTOR MURRAY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956. 164 pages. \$3.50.

Dr. Murray, president of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, delivered the substance of this book in the Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt, the Hyde lectures at Andover-Newton, and in a lecture to the Theological Faculty of Yale. Choosing to move from the known to the unknown, he rejects philosophy, history, God, and the Gospels as a fit place to begin. He begins with man. "And it is because in these days the study of the human mind by

psychologists and anthropologists has at last given us some firm ground upon which to go that I believe it better to begin with such considerations rather than to start off on the one hand with speculative assumptions about the nature and attributes of God or on the other with dogmatic assertions about the significance of certain historical facts." (v) Whether or not his starting place is as firm as he feels it to be is subject to some doubt.

Nevertheless he does deal effectively with theology as a human science functioning in the realm of personal relations. "Theology teaches us nothing. Theology is what theologians teach us." (11) And in this area he holds some opinions with considerable assurance. Having quoted T. F. Torrance on the grace of God, he adds, "It would be unkind to say that this is nonsense and is not even English, but it is a fair example of the nemesis of absurdity that awaits Calvinism, new or old. It is so far removed from men and women that it ceases to have any meaning at all and the unregenerates whom it might be intended to intimidate either rub their eyes in perplexity or dissolve in unseemly laughter." (9) Later he states, "There never was a greater untruth than the doctrine of total depravity." (47)

Two chapters are given to psychological considerations. He concludes that "God is the universal link between man and man and the bond of all true fellowship." (75) Throughout this portion of his book heavy reliance is put upon the doctrine of the unconscious as put forward by Jung.

Another pair of chapters deal with the anthropological considerations. It is taken as a maxim that man is everywhere the same. Thus a specific religion is a way of dealing with common needs and experiences wherein one religion may prove more satisfactory than another.

His concluding chapter deals with the finality of Christianity. He manages to avoid the position of the eighteenth century Deist, Matthew Tindal, by a rejection of simple linear evolution. Revelation is from outside. "The coming of Christ was a great enabling act. Its characteristic was power and the symbol of that power was the resurrection." (138)

This is a stimulating volume filled with unexpected turns and fresh approaches to old problems. It will offend many a theologian, but deserves attention from both theologians and laymen. It will appeal by its conviction, piety, and reasonableness to laymen. Any system of theology which can make a serious claim upon the modern mind must give serious attention to the conclusions of psychology and anthropology as this work does. — *John Frederick Olson*, Associate Professor of Bible and Religion, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.



This Is Israel. By THEODORE HUEBNER AND CARL HERMANN VOSS. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. x + 165 pages. \$3.75.

The publishing of this book could hardly have enjoyed better timing. With the Middle East commanding front-page headlines and the eyes of all the world focused upon Egypt and Israel, "This is Israel" has arrived at a most opportune time.

The authors, who have traveled extensively and frequently throughout the Middle East, reveal an intimacy with that troubled part of the world not only from first-hand observation but from a comprehensive familiarity with the literature and the history of what we once called the Holy Land.

Indeed, in a few spots, they have been too dependent upon current reporting as for example on page 141 they speak of an Arab population of 179,000 but on page 154 they make mention twice of the 175,000 Arabs. I have noticed this sort of discrepancy several times in reading current reports. The authors of this volume have tried hard to reconcile such differences but in this case, at least, they seem to have missed it. Incidentally, on the same page (154) above mentioned, in dealing with the Arab minority, they say: "... Arabic is employed as second national language." I suppose they are referring to Arabic schools exclusively in this paragraph since several school centers in Israel claim English as the second language and some still name French. These criticisms are picayune, indeed, and especially in view of the excellence of the whole book.

The limited number of errors appearing in these pages attests to the meticulous care which must have been exercised by the authors in the interests of accuracy. Especially noticeable is their respect for factual and honest reporting when they come to deal with the controversial Arab-Israeli conflict. In this area where the tendency is to be either every strongly pro-Israel or uncompromisingly pro-Arab, Huebner and Voss have restrained their prejudices, if they have any, and have given as fair a treatment to the deeply entrenched Middle East issues and problems as I have found anywhere, and far less biased than most. Their disciplined objectivity in dealing with this knotty problem is very refreshing. Free from any discernible prejudices, they give every evidence of being sincere in their endeavor to give an honest appraisal of the situation; their suggestions for resolving the clash are likewise sincere attempts to achieve the very best possible solution equally helpful and fair to both Israel and the Arab nations.

The eminent fairness in which the last half of the book is written (dealing as it does with Israel's present and future), is not its only commendable attribute. Much of the clarity which characterizes the last sixty pages, in addition to its objectivity and fairness, may be credited to the first ninety-nine pages which succinctly report the long and intricate historical vicissitudes through which the Holy Land has passed. Starting with the Patriarchs and tracing the checkered career of ancient Israel up to the rise of Christianity, thence on through the last days of Roman rule and following that with a colorful vignette of Palestine under the Moslems from the advent of Mohammed to the end of the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks, the authors dress the stage for the rise and development of Zionism, the struggle for the Homeland, the Mandate, and the emergence of Zionism victorious in the new State of Israel, all the while maintaining the integrity that honest reporting demands. They deal objectively and with candor with all the major internal and external conflicts to which Zionism has been heir from its inception.

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Incidentally, the authors are never better than in the graphic character and biographical sketches of some of the leaders of the movement. Especially exciting for me were the colorful descriptions of Henrietta Szold, Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion. The section dealing with Miss Szold deserves to be included in a prominent place with the best chapters written in any tome dealing with the creative development of culture on the frontier.

How these authors have been able to pack so much valuable information in a hundred and sixty pages is a marvel to me. And they've done it without being skimpy or appearing hurried. Anyone honestly desiring to understand intelligently the current Middle East tragedy will do well to give careful consideration to this compact and rewarding little volume. — *Donald Harvey Tippet*, Bishop Methodist Church, San Francisco, Calif.



Consider Him. By OLIVE WYON. New York-Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. 64 pages. \$1.00.

The book is well described by its sub-title — Three Meditations on the Passion Story. It was written to encourage men "to spend some time each week during Lent in reading the Passion story

in the four Gospels." Beginning with a short four-page Introduction (which is excellently done) there then follow three Meditations on the following themes: Jesus in the Upper Room, Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, and Jesus on the Cross. Two short Services complete the book, and are comprised of appropriately chosen Biblical passages and a short Litany response.

The Meditations are lively and highly imaginative. In no part of them is there dullness. One is compelled to attend, and always there is the suggestion that there is much more in the source material to be plumbed. The reader feels deeply however that the author's treatment of the Gospel material raises serious critical questions. No one who has read the writings of Jeremias or Cullmann or the Gospel According to St. John of Barrett can accept the author's treatment of the Biblical data. How far should a book of meditations pay serious attention to critical studies? The supposed story of Caiaphas making a "deal" with Pilate late on Thursday night to "fix" an early Friday morning trial hardly warrants serious attention. The best parts of the book are those where she does not attempt to depart from the established Biblical data. — *Charles Francis Whiston*, Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California.



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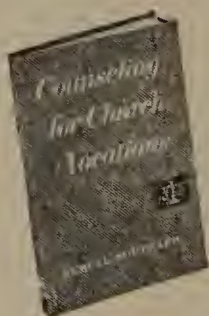
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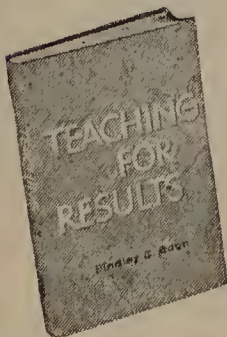


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